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THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

132

ANECDOTES OF THE LIFE

OF

RICHARD WATSON,

BISHOP OF LANDAFF.

VOL. II.

ANECDOTES

OF

THE LIFE

OF

RICHARD WA[...]

BISHOP OF LANDAFF;

WRITTEN

BY HIMSELF AT DIFFERENT INTERVALS,

AND

REVISED IN 1814.

PUBLISHED BY HIS SON,

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On the 25th of January, 1795, the Duke of Bedford made a motion in the House of Lords, "That no form of government, which may prevail in France, should preclude a negotiation with that country, or prevent a peace whenever it could be made consistently with the honour, interest, and security of this nation." Though I had been told by one of my brethren, that the King had expressed his dislike of bishops interfering in political matters, I was not deterred by the fear of His Majesty's displeasure from making a speech in the House of Lords in support of the Duke of Bedford's motion. I was the only bishop

who did, either by vote or speech, support this motion, and I do not repent of my singularity; for it was a motion, at an early period of the war, for peace.

Speech in the House of Lords, on the Duke of Bedford's Motion, January 27, 1795.

"My Lords,

"I SELDOM trouble Your Lordships, and I never do it without apprehension. I am fearful lest the public opinions of so retired and unconnected an individual as myself, should be thought unworthy the attention of the House; and I am fearful also lest any interference in politics should, by some, be construed into a stepping out beyond the line of my profession. Occasions, however, of great national importance will sometimes occur; on these I shall always think it my duty to come forward, and I consider the present as one of them; I consider the junction of the marine of Holland to that of France as a danger of the greatest magnitude.

"We are unfortunately, My Lords, engaged in a war, which has frequently, and with great confidence, been called a

just and necessary war; it is called so by the noble Secretary (Lord Grenville) in the amendment which he has this day made to the motion of the noble Duke. Men will differ greatly in their notions of the justice of war, according to the different views of the extent of moral and religious obligation. For my part, I consider the *justifiable* occasions of going to war to be few, very few indeed. I admit, that war is not absolutely forbidden by the letter of the Christian religion; but I am persuaded, that when the spirit of Christianity shall exert its proper influence over the minds of individuals, and especially over the minds of public men, in their public capacities—over the minds of men constituting the councils of Princes, from whence are the issues of peace and war—when this happy period shall arrive, war will cease throughout the whole Christian world. And of this, My Lords, I am confident, that no war can be justified on any principle, either of revealed or of natural religion, till indemnity for past injury, and security against future aggression, have been demanded and refused; till every means of

accommodation have been tried—*tried with a sincere disposition for preserving peace, and tried in vain.* Whether this principle was, or was not, properly attended to in the beginning of our differences with France, is better known to the King's ministers than to me. I am happy to hear from the noble Secretary, that it was. I have no wish to impeach any man's character; but I am not so ignorant of the law of nations, as not to know, that on the proper or improper attention which was paid to this principle, depends the justice or injustice of the war.

"I perceive, My Lords, that if I were fully to state to Your Lordships all my scruples concerning the justice and concerning the necessity of the war,—for they are distinct questions, since *a war may be just without being necessary, though it cannot be necessary without being just,*—I should trespass more than I ought to do on the patience of the House, especially as Your Lordships have long ago come to a determination on the question. To that determination I bow with respect, and quit the subject. I may be suffered, however, to remark, that in my opinion Great Britain,

after the unsuccessful efforts of Prussia and Austria in the first campaign, nay, at any period before we had actually broken our neutrality, that Great Britain might have interposed her good offices between the contending parties, with great propriety, and with great probability of effect. She might have said to France, "Your fraternizing system must be given up, it disturbs the tranquillity of the world, it breaks asunder the bonds of all civil society; your ambition must be restrained, and your schemes of aggrandizement abandoned; neither *Savoy*, nor *Brabant*, nor *Holland*, not an acre of territory must you possess beyond what you possessed during the monarchy." This, My Lords, we in fact said by our deeds to France; but there we stopped: we did not add, as we ought to have done—France shall be at liberty to exercise the sacred right which belongs to her, and to every other independent state—the right of determining for herself the form of government by which she shall be ruled. Great Britain will not only respect this right, but she will endeavour to prevail on other nations to respect it also; she will

endeavour to prevail on Prussia and Austria to withdraw their troops. This, My Lords, would have been a conduct worthy the magnanimity of a free nation. I may be told, that had the attempt been made, it would not have succeeded. But I have not that opinion of the political wisdom of any individual, to believe him on his bare assertion. I think it would, and for this reason—it would have been for the interest of all parties to have acceded to such an honourable mediation.

"With respect to the origin of the war, it is said to have arisen from a concert of Princes, confederated to dismember France, and to annihilate the liberty of Europe. Without farther proof than has yet come to light, I cannot believe this: I cannot, at least, admit for a moment, that the King of Great Britain would, either directly or indirectly, have given his consent to so nefarious a project; nay, I will do the minister of the country the justice to say, that I believe him to be wholly incapable of either proposing or patronising such a scheme.

"That the war was begun by the Princes of the continent, and entered into by our-

selves, with a view of stopping the propagation of democratic principles, is a proposition which I believe to be true. There may have been some other causes (to say nothing of pretences) for the war, but I take this to be the chief; nor do I see any dishonour in avowing it. Every government has within itself an inherent principle of self-preservation: from this principle springs a right of resisting every attempt which evidently tends to the subversion of established governments. But that war is either the only or the best means of impeding the progress of democratic principles, is certainly not a self-evident proposition; and, how assured soever some men may be of its truth, to me it is not a probable one; an unsuccessful war is more likely to accelerate than to impede the progress of democratic principles, and a successful war will not stop them. The history of the world informs us, that opinions are not subdued but confirmed by persecution; they are seated in the mind, and the mind is not susceptible of change from that coarse instrument of government, force. They yield to lenity, to reason, to experience; and in

this enlightened state of Europe, the thrones of despotic monarchs will be better protected by a seasonable attention to popular requisition, by a relaxation of the reins of despotism, than by all the standing armies which they can collect around them.

"But let the ministers of the continental powers reason on the subject as they think fit, the minister of the King of Great Britain, or any other man who had access to him, might, with the greatest truth and honour, have said to him, and might still say to him,—"Sire, Your Majesty's situation is essentially different from that of the Princes of Germany, and from every other monarch in the world; you, and you alone, reign over a free people; you reign in the hearts of a loyal people by your personal virtues; and you reign in their hearts by a still stronger title to their regard. You are an essential constituent part of that constitution which they admire, for the establishment of which their ancestors shed their blood, and for the preservation of which they are ready to pour out their own. There may be a discontented body of men, but the cause of their discontent may be

removed with perfect safety; there may be a few seditious incendiaries in your kingdom, for no kingdom is without them; but they are too inconsiderable in number, property, character, and connection, to afford any reasonable ground of alarm. The weighty arm of the law will crush the disturbers of the public peace; and the prodigious majority of the people, who detest a republic, will abash the propagators of opinions subversive of the constitution."

"I know not, My Lords, that the Royal mind was ever disturbed for a moment with personal apprehensions. I hope it was not; but if it was, I think, in my conscience, that it might have been tranquillised by a just representation of the superior situation in which His Majesty stands, when compared with that of every other monarch in the world. Arbitrary monarchs may tremble at the subversion of tyranny: the King of Great Britain has nothing to fear but from an attempt which, on my honour, I believe him perfectly incapable of making—from an attempt to subvert the liberty of his people.

"What, My Lords, is our *Magna Charta*

and the Bill of Rights; is our *Trial by Jury,* which no constitutional man will vilify even in thought; is the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which no constitutional man will agree to suspend even for an hour, except in cases of extreme necessity; is the *integrity of our courts of justice,* a circumstance unparalleled in the annals of nations; is the *equality of law,* which unites in the same bond the peasant and the peer; is the *freedom of the press, the liberty of religion, the provision for the poor,*—are these, and innumerable other blessings, so little known, so ill appreciated by the people of Great Britain, as to render a foreign war necessary for the preservation of that constitution from which they are derived? No; I do not believe it; I will not say it, for in saying it I should calumniate the character of an enlightened people. There is no body of men, aristocratical or democratical, churchmen or dissenters, in this kingdom, which would wish to exchange our assizes and our sessions for revolutionary tribunals; our houses of parliament for committees of legislation and general safety; our beloved Monarch for a Robespierre!

This nation has enjoyed, for near a century, much prosperity, much tranquillity, much civil, much religious liberty, under the mild and equitable government of the Princes of the House of Brunswick. Who but a madman would wish to risk the exchange of these blessings for he knows not what? would wish to exchange this illustrious family for the upstart progeny of some flagitious demagogue? Alarms of this kind are fit stuff to constitute the dreams of old women and children; they do not affect my mind. There are other causes of alarm, less obvious, but more portentous, which penetrate my heart. If any thing has happened in the course of this century which has lessened, or which tends to lessen, in the minds of the people, their confidence in the House of Commons, as uncorrupt and careful guardians of the public purse; if any thing has happened which has lessened, or which tends to lessen, in the mind of the people, their confidence in the House of Lords, as a wise and independent aristocracy, well calculated to protect the constitution from the encroachments of monarchy on the one hand and of democracy

on the other; if any thing has happened which has lessened, or tends to lessen, in the minds of persons of all ranks, their veneration for religion—religion, My Lords, is the only sure basis of every government; for you may as well attempt to build a city without a foundation, as to preserve a state without religion—if any thing of this kind has happened, surely it becomes the legislature to advert to these things speedily, seriously, and dispassionately. I know there are many wise men who look upon our national vices, and constitutional defects, as irremediable evils, which will increase, till some dreadful catastrophe shall burst the imposthume, and cleanse the corruptions of the body politic. I am not of that desponding opinion; we are not yet arrived at that state of political profligacy which the Romans had reached, when their historian describes liberty and public probity succumbing under the corrupting influence of wealth and power; it cannot yet be truly said of us, as it was said of them—*Ad id perventum est, ut nec vitia nec remedia pati possumus.*

"The wisdom of this and the other

House, co-operating with the wisdom of the King, may find remedies for all our evils. We are still a wealthy, a brave, and a free people. Let us keep our wealth at home for our own occasions; let us exert our bravery at home in our own defence; and let us be watchful of our own liberties, and sincerely willing to participate our freedom with every nation under heaven, and we shall have nothing to fear from all the republics in the world.

"What is there so enchanting in republics, that we should be apprehensive lest the people of this country should be seduced from their attachment to the constitution, by contemplating the republic of France? In its present state it is an object of terror and abhorrence to every man, however exalted, however abject his condition. In the present aristocratical republics of Europe, every one who knows any thing of the subject, knows that the freedom we enjoy is not enjoyed in them. In the democratical republics of ancient times, and especially in that of Athens, we may see something like a prototype of the French republic: it was a dreadful tyranny exer-

cised by pestilent men, through the instrumentality of the multitude, — exercised over valour, learning, justice, (for even Aristides fell,) over every thing that was great and excellent among mankind.

"But I shall be told, that the representative republics of America and France are essentially different from all republics of either ancient or modern times; that they are machines of government built upon a new construction. Be it so; I cannot now stop to examine either their excellencies or defects; it is enough for my argument, it is enough for the people of England to know, that they are new; their novelty renders them suspicious; when these machines shall have gone on for a century, as well as their most sanguine admirers can expect, it may be soon enough then for our posterity to examine, whether the people enjoy under them more solid blessings than they themselves will then, I trust, enjoy under the present constitution of Great Britain.

"My Lords, we are all agreed; I do not by *all*, mean every individual in the kingdom; but I do mean all the individuals, without exception, in both Houses of

Parliament; and a vast majority of the people out of parliament are agreed in the pursuit of the same object; and that object is, the preservation of the constitution. I give equal credit to all parties on this head, and I should think myself destitute of candour and of justice, if I did not. I know, My Lords, that the connections (I speak not of the leaders of both parties) transgress all bounds of moderation in their judgments of each other. The adherents of administration endeavour to exhibit the opposers of public measures, as men hostile to the peace and tranquillity of the country; as men of *republican principles*; as secret subverters of the constitution. The adherents of opposition endeavour to represent the ministers of the Crown, and the majorities in parliament, as men destitute of public probity, careless of the public safety, and anxious for nothing but the preservation of their places, and the accumulation of riches and titles. This, My Lords, is not a time—indeed, there is no time for it—but this especially is not a time to struggle for the retention, or for the acquisition of power by calumny and misrepre-

sentation. We are all agreed that the constitution ought to be preserved; we differ as to the means of preserving it. Some are of opinion, that the republic of France must, at every risk, be destroyed, lest its establishment should be followed by the subversion of every monarchy in Europe, and of our own amongst the rest. Others see no probability of such a consequence; can discover no connection of cause and effect between the establishment of a republic in France, and the subversion of the subsisting governments in other countries. On the contrary, they are of opinion, that the miseries which the French have hitherto experienced, and which, *if left to themselves*, they probably would continue to experience under a republican government, would, in a few years, make them, as similar evils made our ancestors, revert to some species of monarchy, and would effectually deter every other people from following their example.

" It would be an indication of great boldness in the most consummate statesman; it would be arrogance and presumption in me, peremptorily to determine

which of these two opinions was most founded in truth. I am inclined, after considering the matter with perfect impartiality, and with the best ability which God has given me, to adopt the latter.

"I find fault with no man for differing in opinion from me on any subject; and, I trust those noble personages (Duke of Portland, &c.) whose political principles I have been through life accustomed to revere, and of whose political as well as private probity I entertain the highest opinion, will find no fault with me for differing from them on this important occasion. If my opinion had been wavering, I would have suppressed it;—it is decided, and I think it my duty to declare it. My decided judgment is, that the establishment of a Republic in France will not endanger the constitution of Great Britain; and I am further of opinion, *that a perseverance in shutting the door of negociation, in prosecuting an expensive war, will shake the stability of the throne, and endanger the independence of the nation.*

"But it will be urged,—a declaration of our disposition for peace will be a degrading and an humiliating measure. I look upon

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it in another light. I consider it as a Christian effort of an humane people to put a stop to the effusion of human blood.—But it will be a fruitless overture;—no man can tell what fruit it will produce; it may not produce peace, but it will be attended by two consequences, either of which is of sufficient importance to induce us to make the trial; it will diminish animosity abroad, and it will lessen discontent at home.

"The French are animated to madness against this nation. I enquire not into the cause, the fact is certain; but when they hear that we are ready to treat with them, they will know that the calamities which they suffer are not of our creating; and if the overture is rejected, the people of Great Britain will know that the burdens which they sustain are unavoidable. But there will be a want of *firmness* in changing our system. A perseverance, My Lords, in measures originally wrong, is not magnanimity, but obstinacy; a perseverance in measures originally right, but which circumstances have rendered probably unattainable, is not a mark of wisdom but of folly. It was a mistaken idea of the dignity of firmness

which lost America to this country ; it was the same mistaken idea of the dignity of firmness, in not attending to the just complaints of the people, which has broken the golden pillars of the church, and tumbled into ruins the throne of France. Let us grow wise from our own experience, and from observing the misfortunes of others.

" But shall we suffer the bloody tyrants of the Convention, and their no less bloody associates in every province, town, and village of France, to escape unpunished ? I like not harsh language on any occasion ; it tends only to widen differences : but those men are not answerable for their conduct to us ; their own nation are their judges ; nor will they escape unpunished, though they fall not by the axe of the executioner ; to the justice of God we commit them ; or rather, as becomes peccable men to say, to his infinite mercy we commend them ; may He grant them repentance, and forgive the enormity of their sin !

" But the resources of France are exhausted, ours are still great, and one campaign more will finish the business with success. All this is assertion, without proof ;

it is an improbable prophecy: but admit it to be true in all its parts, let us see what will follow; for it is a main part of deliberative wisdom to respect the end of measures.

"Suppose, then, the unfortunate Louis to be placed, by our efforts, on the throne of his ancestors, surrounded by his nobles in the plenitude of their ancient privileges; the Bastile re-erected, and the people of France,—(Heaven avert that part of the event!)—once more crouching under the rod of despotic power, what advantage will Great Britain derive from this change? The King of France cannot restore to us thousands and tens of thousands of gallant men, who have perished in the contest; nor will he send us a colony of his subjects to replace the numbers which the state has lost. Will he repay into the Exchequer of Great Britain the millions, and tens of millions, which have been expended, or tax his own people, in order to ease our shoulders from the burdens we must sustain on his account?—No; whatever may be his gratitude, he will not have the ability to do this. Will he give up his West-India islands to indemnify us for our losses? No,

he will not rob his crown of so bright a jewel; his people will not suffer it; Spain will not permit it; Holland, if she is allowed a voice, will exclaim against it; all the powers of Europe, already too envious of our prosperity, too jealous of our greatness, (I verily believe we have not one cordial friend in Europe,) they will all conspire to prevent our receiving such an additional source of naval and commercial strength. I profess I do not see any probability of our ever regaining a single guinea of what we have spent, though the re-establishment of the ancient monarchy, or of a limited monarchy, should by our means be effected to-morrow. But, I may be told, that the war was begun, and is continued, not so much for the re-establishment of the French monarchy, as for the security of our own.

"I have already delivered my opinion so explicitly on the little connexion there is between the establishment of a republic in France, and the subversion of the English constitution, that I will not dwell on this point any longer.

"But this is a war of religion against atheism and infidelity. Gracious God!

how great is the presumption of us, miserable mortals! The Almighty Creator and Conservator of the Universe wanteth not the arm of flesh to secure the reality of his existence or the honour of his laws. He gave a commission to the Israelites to exterminate the Canaanites for their wickedness and idolatry; but he hath given none to us, or to the Princes of Europe, to exterminate the French for their cruelty and infidelity. Vengeance, as a noble Duke rightly observed, and with a sense of religion which adds honour to his rank, vengeance belongeth not to man; or, in the words of scripture, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay," saith the Lord.

"Allow me, My Lords, for a moment, a word on the subject of French infidelity; it certainly will not be a word of excuse or extenuation; it will be a word of comfort and consolation to every sincere believer in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. I am then, My Lords, full of hope, full of expectation, grounded on some knowledge of the Scriptures, that this abandonment of all religion in France will be followed in due time, in the time known only to the *Ancient of*

Days, by the establishment of a purer system of Christianity than has ever taken place in that country, or perhaps in any other country, since the age of the Apostles. Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvetius, Diderot, and the rest of the philosophers in France, and perhaps I may say many in our own country, have mistaken the corruptions of Christianity for Christianity itself, and in spurning the yoke of superstition have overthrown religion. They are in the condition of men described by Plutarch; they have fled from superstition, have leapt over religion, and sunk into atheism. They will be followed by future Newtons and by future Lockes, who will rebuild with more than mortal strength and beauty, the altars which the others have polluted and thrown down; for they will found them on the pure and unadorned rock of Christian verity, and the attacks of infidels shall no more prevail against them.

" I beg pardon for this digression, (and I am sure I shall be forgiven it, when I consider the attention with which the House, participating in his feelings, listened to the noble Secretary of State, when he

described, with so much truth, the present irreligion of France,) and return to the subject of debate. My opinion is, that we should make the most vigorous preparations for war by land and sea, and especially by sea; that these preparations should be accompanied with a *real* disposition for peace. Thus prepared, and thus disposed, we may boldly say to France, "Peace or war; take your choice." Let not our enemies triumph at this declaration, or mistake our meaning. We wish for peace, but we wish for it on their account, on the account of general humanity, as much as on our own. We wish for peace, but we are prepared for war; we are neither disheartened by their successes, nor intimidated by their menaces; our resources are not exhausted, our courage is not subdued. They build much upon our divisions; they will find us not divided in resisting them. Would to God that my voice could reach the Convention, when I say, that the people is with the crown, and that the crown is with the people, and that both are with the constitution. All parties are united, all good men are combined,—to do what?

To support the throne.—What else? To maintain the aristocracy.—What else? To protect the people themselves from the insidious machinations of their own demagogues, from the bloody tyranny of French fraternities.

"My Lords, I have done. I have delivered a plain and honest opinion; I am not attached to any party, though I find no fault with those who are. Parties, I acknowledge, may be formed, maintained, and broken on honourable terms; but I know not how it has happened, except from the narrow views of a collegiate life, it has never suited my notions of public probity to become a party-man. I beg on this head to be clearly understood; I have no wish to see the present pilots driven from the helm; I simply wish them to change their course. It is a matter of perfect indifference to me who steers the vessel of the state, provided it is steered with ability. The storm with which it is threatened is new in kind, and unparalleled in degree; hitherto we have only heard its whistling from afar; it may soon approach our coasts, and scatter tremendous and undis-

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tinguished ruin over the whole land. May blessing from God, reward from the King, gratitude from the country, fall upon the head of that man, of whatever party he may be, who shall conduct us into port with safety and with honour! My Lords, I have trespassed too long on your time. I conclude with giving my hearty concurrence to the motion of the noble Duke."

Previously to this speech, the Duke of Portland and some others, *whose political principles I had, through life, been accustomed to revere,* became supporters of Mr. Pitt's measures, and it was generally expected that I should have joined this second (unprincipled I thought it) great coalition. I had always protested against being a party-man, and this speech effectually silenced those who, measuring other men by their own standard, had questioned the sincerity of my avowal of parliamentary independence.

In the following summer I published a Charge and two Sermons, one of them entitled "Atheism and Infidelity refuted

from Reason and Scripture;" the other, "The Christian Religion no Imposture." These sermons were, at their first publication, of some use in confirming the faith of the wavering, and they may always be serviceable for that purpose, as they appear to me, on a re-examination, to be solidly written.

In the beginning of the year 1796, I published "An Apology for the Bible," being a defence of that Holy Book against the scurrilous abuse of Thomas Paine. This little book, I have reason to believe, was of singular service in stopping that torrent of irreligion which had been excited by his writings. *David Dale* of *Paisley*, (I mention his name to his honour, his person I never saw,) asked my permission, which was most readily granted, to print three thousand copies, to be distributed amongst his own workmen; many thousands were printed also at Dundee, and in other places of Scotland and England at a small price, without any profit or wish of profit to myself.

I received many pleasing letters from

individuals, acknowledging the benefit they had derived from the perusal of the Apology; nor was its utility confined to Great Britain, as may appear from the following letters from America and from Ireland:—

"My Lord,

"Deeply impressed with a grateful sense of the blessings derived to the Christian world, by your eminent abilities being so frequently employed in defending its cause against the virulent attacks from its enemies, particularly in your excellent defence of Christianity, against the writings of Thomas Paine, the Convention of the Episcopal Church of Connecticut, at their meeting in October last, directed me to address you in a letter of thanks for the same.

"The reputation which that writer had obtained in this country by his political pieces during the American Revolution, and the great lukewarmness and indiffereney towards the Christian Revelation visible among too many of our citizens, were very alarming circumstances, and led us to apprehend some ill effects from his writings: but happily for us, and we trust for the world at large, that so able a

champion for Christianity has again taken the field, and so successfully combated its enemies. Happy we are to find that your excellent defence has (in this country,) in a good degree, strengthened the faithful, confirmed the doubtful, roused the indifferent, and silenced the gainsayer. And we have reason to believe that it will, by the blessing of God, be a means of checking that spirit of infidelity among us, which has produced such horrid scenes of distress in a powerful nation of Europe.

"Be pleased, My Lord, to accept the thanks of the Convention, with their earnest prayers that God of his goodness and love for the church may direct you in all things for the good of the same; that his name may be glorified, and the number of the people daily increased, and rejoice in the salvation of Jesus.—In behalf of the Convention, I am, My Lord, with sentiments of regard and esteem, and with wishes for your temporal and eternal happiness,

"Your Lordship's most obedient
"and humble servant,

"ASTOBED BALDWIN,—Rector of Christ's

Church, Stratford, and Secretary to the Convention.

"Done by order of the Convention,
"RICHARD MANSFIELD, President.

"Stratford in Connecticut, Nov. 18, 1796."

"Dublin, Sept. 1796.

"My Lord,

"WE are directed, by an association in this city, formed for the express purpose of discountenancing vice, and promoting the knowledge and practice of religion and virtue, to transmit to Your Lordship a copy of the following resolution:—

"'At a meeting of the Association for 'discountenancing Vice, and promoting 'the Knowledge and Practice of Religion 'and Virtue, on Wednesday, the first of 'September, 1796,—

"'Resolved unanimously, That the As-'sociation, deeply sensible of the zeal and 'ability with which the Lord Bishop of 'Landaff has so frequently stood forth the 'powerful defender of the Christian cause, 'in opposition to the attacks of infidel au-'thors, and particularly those of Thomas

'Paine, request His Lordship's acceptance 'of their unanimous thanks.'

"We are also directed to transmit to Your Lordship a copy of three sermons which have been preached before the Association since its commencement, from whence Your Lordship will be able to form a general idea of their views, and the modes by which they have endeavoured to carry them into effect.

"We have the honour to be,

"Your Lordship's obedient,

"very humble servants,

J. MAXWELL,
RICHARD WYNNE, } Secretaries.

In February, 1796, I sent to Mr. Pitt the following note:—

"Dear Sir,

"I was much pleased with what I read of your speech the other night respecting the poor laws, and hearing accidentally to-day that you mean to bring forward something on the general subject, I hope you will forgive my troubling you with a thought which has long been in my mind, but which I have never attempted to form

into a system, as I was doubtful whether any thing could be made of it, and certain that, however feasible the project might be, it was not in my power to give it effect.

"Let the average of the poor-rates in every parish in the kingdom be taken for the last seven years; let each parish be saddled for ever with the payment of that average; let the poor be considered as the poor of the public at large, and be every where maintained out of the fund thus arising: if the fund should be more than sufficient for this purpose, let the surplus go towards the reduction of the national debt; if it should be less, let the deficiency be made up from the public grants.

"By these means the expenses attending litigations concerning settlements and removals of the poor would be at an end: vagrancy also would be at an end: for wherever an idle fellow appeared, he might be set to work either in an house of correction or in a school of industry.

"I need not dilate on this subject, your penetration will see at once whether the thought can be of service.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Mr. Pitt, soon after this, introduced a Bill into the House of Commons, relative to the maintenance and the management of the poor; he sent me a copy of the bill, which I returned to him, with observations upon it; but it came to nothing, and, indeed, it did not appear to me to have been well considered. Humanity impels us as men, and our religion lays an additional obligation on us as Christians, to relieve the wants of the poor; but they oblige us to do this in such a way as to afford no encouragement to idleness, no temptation to profligacy, no excuse for inconsideration. The present state of our poor is a disgrace to our polity. He would be a statesman, really worthy of a statue, who could devise the means of bettering the morals, augmenting the comforts, and lessening the expense of maintaining the poor.

I sent to the Duke of Grafton the following letter, on his having desired my opinion concerning a project, then in agitation, respecting a number of Peers going in a body to the King to counsel His Majesty to open a negotiation with France:—

" Calgarth Park, June 6th, 1796.

" My dear Lord Duke,

" SINCE the receipt of Your Grace's letter on Friday last, I have done nothing but think of the subject of it; and I feel still some hesitation of judgment as to the propriety or impropriety of the measure mentioned in it.

" That Mr. Fox ought not to be consulted, or made acquainted with the plan, is evident to me, not only out of regard to himself, but lest his interference might render the measure more exceptionable in the estimation of the court, and of the people, than it otherwise would be. For though Mr. Fox ought to be esteemed by both as highly as any man in the country, yet it is certain that he is not, at present, so esteemed by either.

" With respect to the measure itself, the first thing to be considered is—What precedents there are of a small number of Peers going in a body to offer their advice to the King:—admitting that precedents may be found, are the precedents in good times and fully in point? Admitting the precedental propriety of the measure, may not the

King make a reply to the following purport:—‘ I take in good part this interposition of your advice, believing that it proceeds from loyalty to me, and zeal for the public good. All such acts of my government, as have originated in the constitutional exercise of my prerogative, have been sanctioned by the authority of my parliament. All such measures as have originated in parliament, and been recommended to me by its wisdom, have received my approbation. These acts and these measures have excited your apprehensions for the general safety, and you counsel me to change the plan of my government: now I recommend this question to your dispassionate deliberation, — Whether a King of Great Britain will best discharge his duty to his people, in listening to the *secret* advice of a few individuals, or in following the public wisdom of the great council of the nation? You may tell me that the parliament is venal, and gives me corrupt advice. This crimination cannot be admitted without proof; if proved, it is such a defect of principle as must end in

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the ruin of the constitution; you may rely on my concurrence with you to remove it.'

"Something of this kind might properly be said by the King, and, whether said or not, it will be thought by many, and not only by many, but by a great majority of the people; for the nation has been so completely alarmed, that it is not yet adverse to the present system of government.

"Your Grace will perceive that my opinion is not for the measure. At first view, I approved it: but, on weighing every thing, I lean to the other side. Had the country been brought into its present state by the cabals of a junto, in opposition to the sense of the people, either within the doors of the House of Commons or without them, the measure would have had a propriety belonging to it which it has not now. My judgment, however, in things of this sort, is as nothing: I daily wish more and more to relinquish all interference in politics; the malady which attacks the constitution (influence of the crown) is without remedy; violent appli-

cations might be used; their success would be doubtful, and I for one never wish to see them tried.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

In the course of this year Sir John Dalrymple sent me a letter, dated Addiscombe Place, 25th April, 1797, from the Earl of Liverpool to him, from which I subjoin the following extract: "As this letter will find "you at the Bishop of Landaff's, pray ask "him if he has yet read the 'Mémoire "pour servir à l'Histoire de Jacobinism,' "by the Abbé Barruel; it is a book which "contains excellent information, and dis-"closes more of the wicked projects of the "French philosophers, and of those who "were called economists, than was ever "known before. The Abbé Barruel is to "publish a third volume, which will dis-"close the secret history of the German Il-"luminés; this book has very considerable "merit, though it savours, in some parts of "it, of the prejudices of a French ecclesi-"astic; for the author (as I am informed) "was educated to be a Jesuit, but the order

" having been destroyed before he was ad-
" mitted into it, he became a *regular* priest,
" and at the beginning of the revolution
" emigrated into England, and has ever
" since resided in London. He writes,
" however, with more liberality than one
" should have expected from a person of
" this description. I sincerely wish, that
" some Protestant writer would take the
" trouble of clothing the information and
" the arguments contained in the book in
" a Protestant dress, adding to them such
" of his own as may occur to him. No one
" could perform a service of this kind so
" well as the Bishop of Landaff; and he
" would render thereby an essential ser-
" vice, not only to his countrymen, but to
" the world in general."

I was far from thinking this hint from Lord Liverpool unworthy of my notice; but on considering the subject attentively, I found I could not heartily undertake it, for I could not clothe some of either the political principles or the religious tenets of the Abbé Barruel in any Protestant dress which would not displease myself, and

every other disciple of Mr. Locke. I was not, moreover, disposed to give full credit to what had been asserted, the existence of a conspiracy among the philosophers of France and the illuminés of Germany to pull down altars and thrones. I saw, indeed, and I had long seen, that the progress of literature and the cultivation of science had, in every country, roused into activity the human intellect, and spurred it to shake off the shackles of superstition and the chains of arbitrary power. I saw, too, that (as might have been expected) some precipitate and self-sufficient spirits would outrage common sense, and, in over-stepping the bounds of sober investigation, would cease to distinguish the Christian religion from its corruptions, and equitable government from continental despotism.

I sent the following letter to Mr. Pitt on the 7th of April, 1797, and it probably suggested to him the principle of a new system of finance,—the raising the supplies within the year:—

"Great George-street, 7th April, 1797.

"Dear Sir,

"NOTWITHSTANDING the stoppage of the Bank, my indecision as to the expediency of relinquishing Holland and Belgium to France, or continuing the war, remains unaltered. As a perseverance, however, in the war seems to be determined on, I beg you would allow me the liberty of an old acquaintance, to interrupt your speculations for a moment, whilst I state to you my *serious* and *sincere* sentiments on our present situation.

"I consider Great Britain, acting on the defensive, as a match in number of men to France acting on the offensive. For though the population of France may be three times as great as that of Great Britain, yet our insular situation will compensate the excess.

"France can bring into the field, by requisition, all her men capable of bearing arms, and she can pay them by a requisition of any part, or of the whole of the capital of the country. Great Britain cannot be a match for France in this respect, unless she adopts similar modes of exerting

her strength. All her men must become soldiers, and all her property must be pledged for the maintenance of her forces. Unless this is done, though our numbers may be *equivalent* to those of France, yet we must at last become her inferiors.

"Whether a greater number of men can, with safety, be taken from the agriculture and the manufactures of the country, I pretend not to determine, but I fear it cannot. Men, however, may be had from other countries, if money can be procured here, and that money may be procured here I have no doubt; but I do not wish it to be procured by the ordinary way of loan, or by the more *exceptionable* way of voluntary contribution.

"I am, in the present situation of the country, an enemy to palliatives and half-measures; the nation knows its distress, and is both able, and, I think, willing to meet it with fortitude. Let an act of parliament be passed calling for a twentieth, or any other requisite part of every man's property, whether it consists in land, or houses, or money vested in the funds, or lent on mortgage or bond, in stock in

trade, in cattle, goods, chattels of every kind. Paupers alone should be exempted from this contribution, which, being just in its principle, and general in its operation, would be abundantly productive.

"This, or a measure such as this, is not unsuited to the enterprise of your spirit; the circumstances of the nation require extraordinary exertion, and, in the present temper of the people, I am of opinion that it would not be an unpopular measure. But if you should even unsuccessfully risk your situation by trying it, you would retire with honour, with having made a noble effort to restore the energy, the credit, and the consequence of the country.

"I think something of this kind, properly digested by your wisdom, would be attended with public security, and with private advantage; for the public debt is an heavy and vexatious load on each man's property, from which both his interest and his comfort must prompt him to disencumber himself and his posterity.

"The whole, or (if it should be thought expedient to retain a part), the greatest portion of the national debt would by this

mean be discharged; a great part of the most oppressive taxes would be done away, the expense attending the collection of them would be saved, the *corrupting influence* of the Crown would be diminished, the poor-rates would be reduced. France, astonished at our magnanimity, would accede to proper conditions of peace, and every nation in Europe would tremble in future at the idea of involving itself in a war with so high-spirited a nation, and which, in addition to their patriotism, had a fresh credit for three or four hundred millions at the commencement of hostilities.

"I know well, in how little estimation the sentiments of individuals are held in your judgment; but I wish, in this day of danger, to discharge my own particular duty, and I think I do it better by this private suggestion, than by a public declaration of my opinion in parliament, being sensible that, if the hint is a good one, it may, through your influence, have its proper effect, and that it can have no effect without it.

"This sacrifice, which I recommend, of

individual property to public exigency, is, unquestionably, a great one; but if paid by instalments in two or three years, it would not be much felt. Considering the number of my children, it would fall as heavily, in proportion to my fortune, on myself, as on any other man; yet I would make it with thanks to the minister, who should compel me and *all* others to submit to it; being convinced that the country cannot be economically, equitably, and permanently saved without it. I go into Westmoreland in ten days, but I cannot leave town without giving you this trouble, for which I beg your pardon, and am with great respect,

"Your faithful servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

In the following November, Mr. Pitt avoided having recourse to a loan, by what were called Assessed taxes; and soon after by having recourse to a partial tax on income. Both these schemes of finance were ineffective even for the *little* end for which he designed them,—the raising supplies for the war. Their inefficiency proceeded

principally from their falling wholly on the higher classes, which are never numerous in any country. The income tax was not levied on persons possessing sixty pounds a-year or under, nor did the assessed taxes reach such persons, so that by much the largest part of the community, whether we judge from their number or their property, paid nothing by these schemes of the minister. As to the difficulty of coming at every man's property, a mathematical precision cannot be expected in such a business, nor is it obtained at present, in the mode of assessing income, though the inquisition into it is sufficiently oppressive and disgusting, and such as a free nation tolerates from no principle but from a regard still remaining for the constitution. I hope that the increasing pressure of taxation may never alienate that regard. A wise government should think of this in time, and, by one great effort of finance, combined with subsequent economy, remove the cause of increasing discontent, and retard the approach of final ruin.

Letter to the Duke of Grafton.

"Calgarth Park, Oct. 10th, 1797.

"My dear Lord Duke,

"THE nation is not yet sick of the war. The country-gentlemen have been alarmed for their property, and they still think it better to part with an half, than to be plundered of the whole. I should certainly agree with them, could I see the necessity of admitting the existence of the alternative; but as I never saw the least notion of danger to this country from the Revolution in France, I cannot now think it a prudent system to spend the last guinea in prosecution of a project which ought never to have been commenced.

"We ought to have peace even upon the condition of relinquishing our conquests, because if we continue the war, we shall run a great risk of adding a British republic to those of Italy and Germany. Peace almost at any rate is my wish; for if once the fever of republicanism subsides, it will never more be excited in France, or propagated through the rest of Europe; at least its subsidence will give time to all

established governments to remedy their defects, without having recourse to revolutions.

"In thus speaking for peace, I rather attend to my judgment than to the proud impulses of my heart, which prompt me to bid defiance to France, and to fight stoutly in restraining her ambition. Indecision and temerity of judgment are equally beneath the character of a statesman; I pretend not to such a character, but I am puzzled how to act. Did I know that during the late negociation we were plotting against France, I should in the most unequivocal terms condemn the conduct of administration; did I know that we were innocent as to that charge, and that France aimed at destroying our consequence as a nation, all I have should be willingly given up to the disposal of the executive government. I might think that wiser measures might have been adopted than what are at present followed; but I would acquiesce, and give my feeble assistance to administration, lest in withdrawing it I should, in some degree, contribute to the ruin of the country.

"As to the seceders attending or not attending the meeting of parliament, they should certainly act in concert, whatever determination they come to. I am not capable of giving advice in so great a question; but as I am always ready, when called upon, to say what I think, I will own to Your Grace that my opinion is, they ought to attend in a body, and to move on the same day, (on the first day of meeting if possible,) in both Houses, for all papers relative to the negociation to be laid before parliament, and, if the papers are refused, to attend no more. This I think would be a conduct consistent with their dignity, and more likely than a total absence to rouse all thinking men into an apprehension for the general safety.

"Your kind invitation is highly acceptable to Mrs. Watson, and all my family, but I have no thoughts of quitting this place till after Christmas. We are now in the middle of our harvest, but all the hay is not yet gotten in. We have a more determined season of rainy and of fair weather in this county than in most parts of England; at least I know not that the following

observation has ever been made in any other county, and I myself only made it the other day, from some tables of the quantity of rain which had fallen in every month for seven years on an average: the accuracy of the tables is unquestionable, and the inference I made from them is this:—That if the whole year be resolved into three parts, June, July, August, September,—October, November, December, January,—February, March, April, May,—the *proportions* of the quantities which fall in these respective parts will be as 11, 9, 5; so that we have more than twice as much rain in the summer as in the spring months.

"I am Your Grace's
"Most faithful and ever obliged servant,
"R. LANDAFF."

On the 20th of January, 1798, I published an address to the people of Great Britain. It was generally thought to be of great service in raising the spirit of the nation. It went through fourteen editions in London, as speedily as they could be published, and many pirated editions were pub-

lished in other parts of Great Britain. Government here, as I was informed, (for they had not the good manners to ask my consent,) printed and dispersed it gratis. From Lord Camden, the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, I received the following letter:—

"My dear Lord,

"You must allow a very old friend and acquaintance to express the very great satisfaction he has received, from the perusal of your address to the people of Great Britain. It has been sent to me, and I think it is calculated to do more good than any publication which has appeared. I have therefore ordered it to be printed and distributed in the kingdom; and I heartily wish that there were men within it, who could so address a people that are not so misguided that they may not be reformed by good advice addressed to them, and high national spirit being infused into them.

"I beg you to believe me,

"My dear Lord,

"Your most obedient servant,

"Camden.

"Dublin Castle, Jan. 31, 1798."

I was induced to write this address, from reflecting on the miserable situation in which the finance of the country then was; from observing the preparations of the French to execute their menace of *destroying Carthage;* and from an anxious desire to oppose the progress of a spurious philosophy, producing irreligion and sedition among the lowest orders. On this and on other occasions some violent men, whose views of political and ecclesiastical reform extended far beyond mine, were filled with resentment against me, reproaching me with having changed my principles, and deserted the cause. This accusation was wholly without foundation; for my principles were not republican principles, nor was my cause their cause.

I paid no attention to this malevolence; for in the following June, having heard that there were discontents and seditious tendencies in my own diocese, I pursued the subject of my address, in a Charge, which the clergy requested me to publish; and in August, I received, from Sir Robert

Salusbury, the subjoined copy of an order of the court of quarter-sessions, for the county of Monmouth:—

"At a general quarter-sessions of the peace, held at Usk, in the county of Monmouth, before Sir Robert Salusbury, Baronet, Thomas Evans, William Jenkins, William Harrison, Samuel Rosser, Thomas Hooper, John Kemys, Gardner Kemys, Fowler Walker, Richard Lewis, William Phillips, Esquires, and Francis Davies, and John Williams, Clerks.

"Ordered,

"That application be made by the Chairman, to the Lord Bishop of Landaff, requesting his Lordship to publish his excellent Charge to the Clergy, on his last visitation, that the Magistrates may have an opportunity of distributing it in their respective neighbourhoods, as the best lesson against imbibing the delusive principles of French Liberty; convinced as they are, that this publication, at this particular conjuncture, will have a good effect in every county as well as in this."

I thought it my duty to comply with a request so handsomely made to me, and published two editions of the Charge, in the latter end of the year 1798. Five years afterwards, an attention to this Charge was revived, by a bookseller (without my knowledge) having published the whole, or the greatest part of it, printed on a single sheet, and sold at a trifling price. On this occasion, I received from a nobleman I had very little acquaintance with, the following letter:

"Piccadilly, Aug. 16, 1803.

"My Lord,

"Though I have very little the honour of Your Lordship's acquaintance, I hope that you will excuse the trouble of this letter, to beg you will receive with indulgence my thanks and high approbation of your most excellent address to your Clergy. My thanks and approbation would be of little value to Your Lordship, but from their sincerity, if I was not sure, that I am at the same time expressing the feeling and sentiments of every honest and loyal person in the kingdom. I hope that your Ad-

dress will be universally read by all people, and every where, as I am firmly persuaded it will have the greatest effect, and do more good than any thing that has been said in parliament or any where else, on this subject.

"I am, My Lord,
"With the highest respect,
"Your most faithful and
"Obedient servant,
"QUEENSBERRY."

These publications of mine had excited the displeasure of Mr. Wakefield, (one of the first scholars of the age,). and, unfortunately for himself, he published a pamphlet against them. The administration prosecuted him for some expressions in his pamphlet, which they thought were seditious, and he was fined and imprisoned. I took some pains to prevent this prosecution, thinking the liberty of the press to be the palladium of the constitution; but I did not succeed in my endeavours; nor did the ministry acquire any credit from their over-watchfulness. I received from Mr. Wakefield the following letter:—

"My Lord,

"As my trial will take place some time from the 12th to the 20th of next month, and Mr. Fox's Libel Bill makes these causes almost wholly a question of character and veracity, it might be materially serviceable to me, if, from your knowledge of me through Mr. Tyrwhitt and otherwise, you were able to give a favourable opinion with respect to the sincerity and conscientiousness of my conduct in general, without any reference to political and religious sentiments. Your Lordship's answer will much oblige

"Your obedient servant,

"GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

"Hackney, Jan. 29, 1799."

My Answer.

"Great George-Street, Jan. 31, 1799.

"Sir,

"I CANNOT think that it will be in my power, how much soever it will be in my inclination, to serve you on your trial, since, to the best of my knowledge, I never either saw or spoke to you in my life. That

Mr. Tyrwhitt did esteem you I know, and I have no reason to believe that he does not continue to esteem you; but on this point I cannot speak with certainty, not having seen Mr. Tyrwhitt for several years. Of one thing I am well persuaded, that Mr. Tyrwhitt is incapable of esteeming any man whose moral character will not bear the strictest scrutiny. I join with the world in admiring your talents: I have not the shadow of ill-will to you on account of your attack on my pamphlet, and shall sincerely rejoice at your being extricated from your present difficulty.

"I am your obedient servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

In January, 1799, I received from the Archbishop of Canterbury a paper which had been sent to him by Mr. Pitt, and was desired to deliver my opinion on the subject. The paper contained a plan for the sale of the tithe of the country, on the same principle that the land-tax had been offered for sale in the preceding session of parliament. It was proposed, that the money arising from the sale of the tithe should be

vested in the funds, in aid of public credit, and the clergy were to receive their income from the funds; the income, however, was not to be a fixed income which could never be augmented, but was to be so adjusted as, at different periods, to admit an increase according to the advance in the price of grain. This plan was not introduced into parliament; it met, I believe, with private opposition from the bishops, though I own it had my approbation; but that approbation was founded on very different principles from that of aiding public credit; I did not indeed clearly see how, if the full value was given for the tithe, that credit would be assisted thereby. I remember having said to Mr. Arthur Young on the occasion, that I for one never would give my consent, and that I thought the houses of parliament never would give theirs to the sale of the tithe, unless its full value was paid for it. "Then," said he, "there is an end of the whole business; for unless the people in the west, who are now most clamorous against tithe, are allowed to purchase at the price they now pay by composition, they will on their knees beg

Mr. Pitt to let things continue as they are." I sent to the Archbishop the following observations on the proposed plan, to be communicated to Mr. Pitt:—

"The Bishop of Landaff is of opinion, that an income arising from the funds will neither be so *permanently* secure, nor so *independent,* as one arising from tithe.

"He is further of opinion, that the proposed change will much augment the influence of the Crown; which augmentation, he conceives, will be ultimately ruinous alike to the just prerogative of the Crown, and the liberty of the subject.

"Notwithstanding these distant and contingent dangers, he approves of the plan, on the ground of its tendency to amend the morals of the people, by extinguishing the discontents often subsisting between the clergy and their parishioners, on account of tithes, and on the principle of its promoting the agriculture of the kingdom.

"He considers the particulars of the plan as well arranged in general; but he thinks that a *fair* valuation of the great and small tithes of each living should be made

by proper commissioners; apprehending that the mode adopted, when enclosures are made, is not applicable to lands now in tillage, and destitute of commons.

"He does not see that the abolition of tithes, on the enclosures of commons, (*in futuro*), is taken into consideration.

"He wishes that some provision might be made for the recovery of tithes which are now due by law, though the right to them may not, for various reasons, have yet been prosecuted.

"He is desirous that the following points may be ascertained, before the measure is submitted to parliament:—

"1st, What number of parishes in the kingdom are now entirely exempted from the tithe of corn and hay?

"2d, In what number of parishes, subject to the afore-mentioned tithes, are the tithes in the possession of the *parochial clergy?*

"3d, In what number of parishes, subject to the afore-mentioned tithes, are the tithes in the possession of spiritual or lay corporations?"

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I heard no more of this matter. If ever it is resumed, it will be proper to obtain accurate answers to the three questions here proposed, that it may appear how small a part of the grievance of tithes is attributable to the parochial clergy. In the answer to the petitions which were exhibited to parliament and Cromwell, for the taking away of tithes in 1652, it is said—" There are in England and Wales 9,725 parishes; and, though the one half of these rectories were not appropriated as to the number, yet certainly as to the yearly values, the ministers at this day have not one half of the profits of the tithes of corn and grain."

If acts of parliament for enclosing commons and open fields, go on for twenty years more, as they have done for twenty years past, the grievance of tithe will be almost wholly done away; as in these acts the lay and spiritual owners of tithes, generally acquiesce in receiving a portion of land in lieu of their right of tithe.

Letter to the Duke of Grafton.

"Calgarth, Aug. 25, 1798.

"My dear Lord Duke,

"It made me happy to hear that your Bath expedition was become unnecessary for you at present, and I hope it will be many years before it will be requisite for you to have recourse to the waters there. You know what a sad infidel I am, with respect to medicine in general, and cannot therefore suppose that I place any more confidence in mineral, than in elementary water; though I do place a little more in both, than in half the drugs of the *Materia Medica*.

"I can have no backwardness in submitting to Your Grace's consideration my sentiments on the state of Ireland, or on any other subject; but I really think so little of politics, that I am quite unfit to give a judgment on what ought to be done; I will throw out, however, what occurs to me on the subject.

"The government, in my opinion, has acted wisely in adopting vigorous and

speedy measures for quelling the rebellion, which their own impolitic conduct towards that kingdom had principally occasioned. The amnesty has my entire approbation, and it ought to be followed by an extensive lenity towards those who may be tried and found guilty. But this is not all which ought to be done; the real grievances of the Irish should be liberally redressed.

" If the tithes of that country must still remain with the Protestant clergy, the Catholic clergy should be paid from the public treasure, that their maintenance may not be a burden to individuals of that religious persuasion. The Catholic clergy being thus rendered respectable, both they and the Protestant clergy should be compelled to residence, as a mean of civilising the inhabitants of the country. Neither of these two persuasions should be permitted to tyrannise over the other, nor be encouraged in making proselytes, except by their examples of piety, courtesy, and benevolence.

" As to granting the elective franchise to Catholics, and permitting persons of that religion to sit in parliament, I should have

no hesitation on that subject, could I be convinced that the Catholic church would not, if it were the dominant church, be a persecuting church. This apprehension affects my mind; yet I am often inclined to think that, whatever foundation there may be for it in the history of former times, it is at present a groundless apprehension with respect to the enlightened part of the Irish Catholics. It would be a long time, moreover, before the Catholics would acquire a majority in either House of Parliament; so long indeed, that Popery itself will, according to my expectation, be extinguished before that period should arrive. I would therefore, every thing considered, grant at the present conjuncture a complete emancipation to the Irish Catholics, and restore them to all the rights of citizenship. This is as much perhaps as the times will bear, but it is not all that I wish to be done. Our connexion with Ireland must, at all events, be preserved, lest she should become connected with some other power. There are three ways in which that connexion may be imagined to be formed.

Our present connexion is better known to Your Grace than to me; you know better than I do, whether the cabinet of Great Britain does or does not guide the cabinet of Ireland in every measure of importance; if it does not, Ireland is, as to us, an independent country, and our connexion with it is similar to our connexion with Hanover. Another mode of connexion might be the treating Ireland as a conquered country; this, notwithstanding the provocation we have received, will not I hope be thought of. A third, and what I esteem the most beneficial mode of connexion for both countries, would be a legislative union. I remember the having suggested this to the Duke of Rutland, when he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; in his answer he agreed with me in the principle, but said that whoever should attempt such a thing in Ireland would be tarred and feathered. The temper of the Irish may since that time be changed, and their late calamities may have convinced them, that an union with Great Britain, ON LIBERAL POLITICAL TERMS, would do more to tranquillise and

to aggrandise their country, than all the systems of corruption which a few rapacious individuals may have formed for them.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Letter to the Earl of Galloway.

"My dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's letter gave me great satisfaction, for I feel peculiar pleasure, when I see men of distinction in the state in earnest in their religion. Mr. Colquhoun's book exhibits a sad picture of human depravity; a little, I think, in some parts overcharged, but though it may be softened, it will still remain hideous.

"The manners of a people have an intimate connexion with their riches; where these abound, it is not in the power of penal laws, how well soever they may be administered, to stop the torrent of sensuality and debauchery. The bad example set by those who possess great wealth, induces every man to wish for similar indulgences; these cannot be honestly procured; and, being earnestly sought after, recourse is

had to rapine and fraud in a thousand shapes.

"I wish it were in my power to suggest the proper means of mending mankind; and Your Lordship deserves great praise for having thought of a plan for that purpose. You are aware, I presume, that a society for the reformation of manners was established in the beginning of this century, which came to nothing. Another society of the same kind was established about ten or twelve years ago, and is still subsisting in London. An account of their proceedings has been published, but I am a stranger to its success, though I was a member of it for some time, and only withdrew my name from an opinion (perhaps an ill-formed one) of its inefficacy.

"I hope and believe that there are more men of piety and benevolence in this country than in any other equal part of Europe; but this excellence of character is found more abundantly in the middle class of life than in either the very rich or the very poor.

"I hope to reach London before the end of next month, and shall be happy to con-

verse with you on the subject of your letter, being with the greatest esteem,

"Your faithful friend and servant,

"RICHARD LANDAFF.

"December 10th, 1799."

On the 11th of April, 1799, I made the following speech in the House of Lords, respecting an union with Ireland,—a subject which I had many years before warmly recommended to the consideration of the minister:

"My Lords,

"IN rising to deliver my opinion on a subject which has already been illustrated by the eloquence, and exhausted by the wisdom, of some of the ablest speakers in this and in the other House of Parliament, in this and in another kingdom, I cannot but feel an apprehension lest I should be considered by Your Lordships, in the unfavourable light of a man unnecessarily vexing the reluctant ear with a dull repetition, as it were, of a thrice-told tale. But my heart is so much in this business, and my mind has been so long accustomed to

contemplate it, as an object of the first political importance, that I must entreat Your Lordships' indulgence, whilst I explain my sentiments upon it. I will do this as briefly and as clearly as I can. When the late Duke of Rutland, whose memory will be ever dear to me, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he honoured me with his confidence, and conversed with me on many subjects of political importance. The Irish propositions, as they were called, were then under discussion. I own they had my approbation, though they were, properly enough, ultimately abandoned, on the ground of their not being acceptable to the Irish nation. In writing to him about that time, I perfectly well remember having said, 'You and your friend the minister of England would immortalise your characters, if, instead of a mere commercial arrangement, you could accomplish, by *honourable means* and *on equitable terms*, a legislative union between the two kingdoms.' His answer to this suggestion was so singular that I shall never forget it; it was to this effect :—He wholly approved of the measure; but added, the man who should

attempt to carry the measure into execution would be tarred and feathered. Whether this repugnance to an union was, at that time, the general sentiment of the Irish nation, or, which I suspect, of a few leading individuals in that country, I have no means of ascertaining, nor is it now of any use to enquire. I have mentioned this circumstance to show to Your Lordships, that the opinion, which I mean this day to deliver on this great subject, is not an opinion rashly or recently taken up, in consequence of the late occurrences in Ireland, (though I am ready to own that those occurrences have very much strengthened me in the propriety of the opinion); but it is an opinion deliberately formed many years ago, when the mind was neither heated by resentment against rebellion, nor disturbed by the apprehension of danger, and when I was much more in the habit of considering such subjects than I have been of late years.

"My life, My Lords, from seventeen to sixty-one, has been pleasantly, and, I hope, not unprofitably, spent in the pursuit of knowledge, and in abstract reasoning on a

variety of topics. I have occasionally and incidentally reasoned on political subjects; but this, I presume, may be forgiven to a churchman, who, at this advanced period of his age, can boldly and honestly declare, in the hearing of Your Lordships and in the face of his country, that all his political speculations were ever founded on what appeared to him the broad basis of public utility, and ever proceeded from an unbiassed mind; and, on the present occasion, I feel that my mind is as unbiassed as that of any gentleman either in Great Britain or Ireland.

"There are many, I am sensible, in both countries, who understand this subject, in all its relations and dependencies, better than I do: but I am not ignorant of it; I have not thought of it slightly; I at least understand enough of it to enable me to form for my own guidance, (which is all I aim at,) not an obscure, not an hesitating, but a clear and determined judgment; and, having formed such a judgment, I will not be deterred from declaring it on account of its unpopularity in a country, for whose interests I have always cherished

a serious and sincere concern. My opinion then is this,—that a *cordial* union will be much more advantageous to Ireland than it will be to Great Britain, but that it will be eminently useful to both countries. If I were to express my sentiments of the utility of an union in few words, I would say, *that an union will enrich Ireland; that it will not impoverish Great Britain: that it will render the empire, as to defence, the strongest empire in Europe.*

"The strength of every state principally depends on the number of its people. The lands of Great Britain and Ireland, if cultivated to their full extent—to the extent, if this measure takes place, they will be in half a century—would support a population of thirty millions at least. Thirty millions of people would afford five or six millions of men able to bear arms; and either five or six millions of men able to bear arms would afford, when occasion should require, one million of men in arms, without distressing either the agriculture, the manufactures, or the commerce of the country: but with a million of men in arms, with insular situations, with a free consti-

tution, with united hearts, what could Great Britain or Ireland have to fear from the combined aggression of all Europe? We might then be more indifferent than we could hitherto prudently have been to continental politics; we might then suffer the princes of the continent to settle their own disputes, without our throwing our men or money into any scale, to preserve that equilibrium of despotic power which, as free and happy subjects of a limited monarchy, we cannot but wish, for the interests of humanity, had no existence any where.

"Having expressed my general approbation of the general measure, I might proceed to a regular discussion of several questions connected with it: but I will not do this; they are questions of too delicate a nature, and of too difficult investigation, to have any justice done to them within the compass of a short debate. I will mention two or three of them.

"It is certainly a question of magnitude, on which wise and good men may differ, Whether the *present* parliament of Ireland has or has not a right to vote its own extinction? and if this be a question with

respect to Ireland, a similar one applies to Great Britain, Whether the *present* parliament of Great Britain has or has not a right to accede to an union? A volume might be written on this subject, and the question would still remain undecided, unless the principle on which it must be argued was previously settled, unless a previous question was determined; and the previous question appears to me to be this, What is the quantum of power, what the quality of trust confided constitutionally by the constituents to their representatives in parliament? On this previous point men are not likely to come to any unanimity of opinion: but on an agreement on this point depends the decision of parliamentary rights and parliamentary competency. Some men dislike all discussion of competency and rights: I cannot agree with them; right and obligation are correlative terms; and unless we understand what is right, how can we understand our obligation not to do wrong?

"There is another question of high importance, Whether the Roman Catholics in

Ireland, being a great majority of the people, have or have not a right to some ecclesiastical establishment, and to the removal of all civil disabilities? This question becomes more perplexed, as to both parts of it, but especially as to the former part of it, than at the first view it may appear to any one to be; when it is considered that the property, by which such an establishment must be maintained, is principally in the hands of a small minority of the people, who will not receive any direct and immediate benefit from such an establishment. Whenever this question is agitated, and the sooner perhaps it is agitated and settled the better, I hope it will be remembered, that nothing can be expedient to be done which it is not just and lawful to do; but that many things may be right, just, and lawful to be done, which may not, politically speaking, be expedient to be done. And to Protestants and Catholics I would recommend the advice of an ancient father of the church, who, in composing the animosities of contending religious parties, counselled each side to give up little things, that both sides

might obtain great things,—peace, tranquillity, and concord.

"There is a third question more important, if possible, than either of the other two; and of so difficult a nature, that the most prospective wisdom of the most consummate statesman cannot decide upon it with any degree of certainty; Whether the British constitution will or will not undergo some change; and, if any, what change, from the introduction of Irish members into our two Houses of Parliament? On these and similar questions, as well as on commercial advantages and disadvantages attending an union, I could speak at some length; but I purposely decline entering into detail on any of them; and I do this, partly from thinking that this is not the proper time for such discussion, partly from a persuasion that those, to whom this great matter will be intrusted, do not stand in need of my advice on any point, and principally from my dislike to appearing forward in obtruding my political speculations on the attention of the House, having no ambition whatever to affect the character of a statesman,—a character, indeed, when

wisely and honourably sustained, of the highest importance to human happiness, but which does not befit a retired and unconnected churchman, who wishes to spend the remainder of his days in contemplations of quite a different tendency.

"On the subject of the union, as far as it respects Ireland, three different opinions have been adopted in that country. The first is the opinion of those, who think that an union with Great Britain is the most probable and effectual means of securing, of enlarging, and rendering permanent the prosperity of Ireland. Whatever may be the numbers, character, or situation of the persons who entertain this opinion, I have no scruple in saying that I concur in sentiment with them. A second opinion is, that British connexion is, indeed, essential to Irish prosperity, but that British union will be destructive of that prosperity. This opinion has been supported by men of such approved integrity, and of such acknowledged ability, by men every way so respectable, that I suspect my own faculties of reasoning when I presume to differ from them. In an ordinary mode of reasoning,

one would say that if British connexion is essential to Irish prosperity, then the closer that connexion is, the greater will be that prosperity; this I say, My Lords, would be an ordinary inference, unless it could be shown that the connexion, when it has approached to a certain degree of proximity, changes at once its nature; like some physical powers which are attractive to a certain distance, and then become repulsive. The present bond of connexion between the two kingdoms is that of their having the same King; the proposed bond is that of their having the same legislature. How slight the former bond is, has been so fully shown by a noble Secretary, in a former debate on this subject, that I will not say one word upon it: but surely it requires no depth of argumentation to apprehend, that, if a connexion with a third part of a legislature be useful, one with the whole legislature will be abundantly more useful; for the first is liable to be obstructed in its efficiency, or wholly destroyed, by many foreseen and many unforeseen circumstances: but the last can meet with no impediment in its operation, and can only be destroyed

by, what can never be taken into delibera-tion, a dissolution of the government itself.

"But it is probable that I do not perfectly understand what is meant by the terms British Connexion; and there is no greater source of error in reasoning, than the using terms without annexing to them definite ideas.

"Is it then meant by British connexion, on which Irish prosperity is said to depend, that the trade and manufactures of Great Britain are to be crippled in operation, and limited in extent, in order that those of Ireland may be invigorated and enlarged? —No; the Irish are too liberal a people, to have formed so selfish an expectation. Is it meant by British connexion, that the lands and property of Great Britain are to be mortgaged to the last guinea in building, equipping, and maintaining fleets for the protection of the coasts and the commerce of Ireland? No; the Irish are too just a people to desire that Great Britain should make so dear a sacrifice. Is it meant by British connexion, that when Ireland shall have become rich and powerful, and shall have established a beneficial commerce

with Holland, Spain, France, or any other country, and Great Britain having declared war against any of those countries, is it meant that Ireland shall be at liberty to remain at peace, and to prosecute her commercial advantages, leaving Great Britain to fight her own battles? No; Ireland is too wise a nation not to see, that this conduct would be a direct separation. What then can be meant by British connexion, except this;—that Great Britain and Ireland shall for ever have the same friends and the same foes; that they shall have a common strength; that this common strength shall be supported by a common purse, to which each shall contribute according to its ability; that this common strength shall be directed by a coincidence, or rather by an identity of councils; that Great Britain shall make no laws injurious to Ireland, nor Ireland any injurious to Great Britain; that there shall be no commercial jealousies, but a constant reciprocation of benefits; in a word, that Great Britain and Ireland shall be like the two arms of the body, never disposed to quarrel with and beat each other, but always ready

to unite their efforts in defence of that common body from which both derive their strength and vigour. If all this is meant by British connexion, I see not that it differs, except in name and efficiency, from British union; and if less than this is meant, British connexion will be destitute of that stability, which is necessary to secure the permanency of Irish prosperity.

"The third opinion which prevails in Ireland on this subject, says, that British connexion and British union are equally and irreconcileably hostile to the interests of Ireland. This opinion may, for aught I know, have been privately entertained by some individuals for many years; but it has not, till lately, been publicly avowed. I am not disposed to call every man a rebel and a traitor, who maintains this opinion as a speculative opinion; but let who will maintain it, I must say that it is a preposterous opinion, that it is not supported by any experience derived from the history of nations, that it is not bottomed on any knowledge of human nature, and that it is wholly devoid of that first feature of political wisdom—foresight.

"I will speak my whole mind on this point. Ireland, as a graft inserted into the stock of the British empire, may throw out branches in every direction, and bear fruit on every twig; but if you separate it from this connexion, and plant it in a soil by itself, it will neither strike root downwards, nor bear fruit upwards, for an hundred years, though it should be left to itself, free from the annoyance of its neighbours. But this Irish graft cannot be left to itself; it will either be stunted and overshadowed by the mighty branching of the British oak, or it will be poisoned by the pestilential exhalations of the trees of liberty which France will plant around it,—trees which have hitherto produced no fruit in Europe or in the world, except the apples of Sodom, alluring to the eye, but bitter and poisonous to the palate. Ireland cannot stand alone. Would to God that there was moderation and justice enough in great states, to permit lesser states to enjoy their independence, and to prosecute their interests in a state of separation from them: but this is a system of politics more to be wished than expected in the present con-

dition of Christian morality. Ireland cannot stand alone; she must of necessity be connected; nay, she must for her own safety, in the present convulsed state of European politics, in the present progress of strange political opinions, be united either to Great Britain or France. She is not, indeed, at liberty to make her choice, without withdrawing that allegiance, which the wisest and best men in Ireland have not, I am convinced, any disposition to withdraw; but if she were unfettered by any bond of connexion, at full liberty to make a choice, is there a man in all Ireland, of a good heart and a cool head, who could hesitate in preferring an union with Great Britain to one with France? United with Great Britain, Ireland will soon become a lusty, well-looking, well-fed limb of the British body politic; united with France, she would be a withered, shrivelled, palsied, starved excrescence, which might be cut off and thrown aside, whenever interest or caprice should render a separation necessary.

" I foresee, with great satisfaction, the time when, if this union takes place, the

whole state of Ireland will be changed. The overflowing of British capital will, on a peace, instead of finding its way into France or America, settle in Ireland. It will, in time, convert the bogs of that country into corn-fields; it will cover its barren mountains with forests; it will dig its mines, cut its canals, erect its fabrics, explore new channels of commerce, and improve the old ones; in a word, by supplying labour, it will render the people industrious, enlightened, contented, and happy. I, My Lords, shall not live to see the effects of this measure, for great objects do not attain their full perfection at once; but our posterity will see them, and will have cause to bless the enlarged policy of two legislatures, which, rising superior to petty jealousies; which, sacrificing partial interests on the altar of general safety, have coalesced into one, for the benefit of both.

"But though I am, on the most dispassionate grounds, a sincere friend to an union, I am no friend to its being accomplished, *except by the most just and honourable means.* An union participates in the nature of a contract; or, to speak more

properly, it is a contract of the highest kind. Now, it is of the essence of every contract, that there should be the free consent of the contracting parties, founded on a cool and comprehensive view of the subject, and on a persuasion of the utility to be derived therefrom. Ireland does not yet seem to be persuaded of the utility which she will derive from this union; nor has Ireland (if I may be allowed to say so without giving offence, and I certainly do not mean to give any,) yet, I think, taken a cool and comprehensive view of the subject: at all events, she does not yet seem disposed to become a party to the contract. Under such circumstances, the contract cannot, in my opinion, be fairly entered into. What, then, is to be done? Precisely that which Great Britain is doing; and is, I trust, prepared to do. Great Britain is giving time to Ireland to consider this subject in all its bearings; and Great Britain is, I trust, prepared to say, if not by words, to say by actions, to her sister-kingdom,—Be persuaded, that in proposing this measure, I have not been actuated by any selfish, insidious, or oppres-

sive views; be assured, that in prosecuting what has been proposed, I have no point to carry, but what will be full as useful to Ireland as to Great Britain: conscious of the integrity of my intention, and convinced of the utility of the measure, had I the means of influencing the parliament of Ireland to a corrupt approbation of it, I would, on this occasion, disdain to use them. I will not tamper with the conscience; I will not attempt to undermine the public probity, or to assail the personal independence of any individual in Ireland. I do not wish any man, on either side of the water, to support this measure from a principle of gratitude for favours received, much less from a principle of expectation of favours to be conferred; but, on the other hand, I must deprecate all opposition to it, originating in local prejudices, partial consideration, individual interest; or, in what is least deserving the attention of a wise man, a desire of popular applause. All I wish is, that the subject may be fully and intelligently examined, deliberately discussed, and decided freely. Great Britain may not, perhaps, be able to approve the

wisdom of the decision, but she knows how to respect the independence of the sister-kingdom, and will acquiesce in the decision, be it what it may. Such, My Lords, I humbly think, is the language, such the conduct which Great Britain should use; and which, if we may judge from what has been said in this House concerning free consent, she is disposed to use towards Ireland. It is a conduct conformable to the eternal rules of immutable justice; it is suited to the magnanimity of this great nation; it is calculated to conciliate the affections, and to rivet the regard of the high-spirited, indeed, but at the same time of the warm-hearted people of Ireland.

"I have detained Your Lordships too long, and in doing so, I have probably done as much violence to my own feelings as to your patience: for I do feel a daily increasing reluctance to the mingling in public political debate. But this great subject has compelled me to come forward. I perceive that every thing which is dear to us as individuals, as fathers of families, as members of civil society, is at stake. The wild ambition of France supported on the right

hand by the annihilating doctrines of Epicurus, supported on the left by the wicked hopes of the idle and the profligate, to rise to distinction by public confusion, and every where assisted, except in this happy country, by forms of government more or less arbitrary and oppressive, to which the mass of the people can feel little attachment; this ambition, thus supported, thus assisted, is stalking like a desolating fiend throughout the earth, and wherever it puts its iron foot, it crushes, with undistinguished ruin, all orders of men, and levels with the ground every civil, every ecclesiastical constitution.

"When I view this monster at a distance, I contemplate it with abhorrence; its nearer approach, if it must approach nearer, I shall view, not without anxiety, but without despondency. The good providence of God may, and I trust it will, and unless the sins of the nation obstruct its influence, we may be certain that it will, defend us from the enemy; but no human means (I speak in the sincerity of my heart), no human means can be devised more suited to this end than a liberal, cor-

dial, legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland."

When I sat down, the Bishop of Rochester (Horseley) complimented me with saying, that he had never heard such a speech in the House of Lords, and should never hear such another. I could not but be pleased with having extorted, as it were, this praise from a man who did not like me; but the satisfaction which I received from the Bishop's commendation was far inferior to that, which the following note from Dr. Joseph Warton gave me, to whom I was very little known:—

"Nerot's Hotel, April 13, 1799.

"My Lord,

"THOUGH I feel very strongly the impertinence and impropriety I am guilty of, yet I cannot restrain myself from expressing the great satisfaction and pleasure I have received from reading Your Lordship's most eloquent, nervous, convincing, and unanswerable speech on the Union with Ireland. Happy it would be for us if Your Lordship's counsels and opinions were al-

ways followed and put in execution. I must entreat you to forgive the freedom of these few lines, And am,

"With the greatest respect and regard,
"Your Lordship's most obliged
"and obedient servant,
"Jos. Warton."

Though the colouring of this compliment is, I am sensible, overcharged, yet, I should belie my feelings if I did not own that it gave me great pleasure; for Dr. Joseph Warton was a scholar, and not only a scholar but a man of taste, and not only a scholar and a man of taste, but what, at that time, was a rare character indeed, a genuine Whig.

In a few days after I had made this speech, I set forward into Westmoreland. Whilst I was on the road, Lord Grenville brought to the bar of the House of Lords, one Flower, of Cambridge, for having been guilty of a breach of privilege, in publishing something against my speech; what that something was I never deigned to enquire. The punishment inflicted by the

House was, as I remember, imprisonment for six months, and a fine of 100*l*. I sent the following letter to Lord Grenville on the occasion; for I thought myself the more obliged to him, as I had no acquaintance with His Lordship, and was wholly ignorant that I had been the object of Mr. Flower's abuse:—

"Calgarth Park, Kendal, May 10, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I YESTERDAY learned from the newspapers what has passed in the House of Lords relative to Mr. Flower. I am sensible that Your Lordship has taken up this matter from your great attention to the public service; yet I must beg you to allow me the liberty of returning you my thanks for the protection which you have thereby afforded to myself.

"I am an utter stranger to the person and character of Mr. Flower, and wholly ignorant of the magnitude of his offence; I cannot therefore, with propriety, interfere in soliciting a mitigation of punishment; but if any application should be made to the House for that purpose, I will

trouble Your Lordship to say, that the Bishop of Landaff, as an individual, will feel much more satisfaction in forgiving the man's malignity than in avenging it.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Lord Grenville's Answer, dated Dropmore, May 14, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I WAS this morning honoured with Your Lordship's obliging letter. In the instance to which it relates, I have only discharged a public duty; but it was with pleasure that I availed myself of the occasion to express my respect for the character of a person, whose exertions in the defence of religion are, I am persuaded, the real cause of the scandalous and unprovoked calumnies against him. If any application is made to the House in behalf of Mr. Flower, I will not fail to obey Your Lordship's commands. "I am, &c.

"GRENVILLE."

The union with Ireland took place in the

following year, but I spoke no more in parliament on that subject. The Archbishop of Canterbury had asked my opinion relative to the church of Ireland, and I sent to him the following letter, dated Great George-Street, 5th March, 1800: —

"My Lord Archbishop,

"I THINK the act of parliament proposed by the Archbishop of Cashell and Dr. Duigenan to be wholly unnecessary; but I approve of the addition to the fifth article suggested by the Lord Lieutenant. I approve, however, of this addition merely as it may tend to conciliate those who seem to entertain apprehensions for the security of the Irish Church, and not as thinking it in any degree requisite for that end, which is in no degree endangered by the union.

"An united convocation will sufficiently unite the churches of England and Ireland, both at present, and as to all future changes, if it should ever be thought expedient to make any; and as to identification, the churches are at present identified, not only in the leading principles of Protestantism and Episcopacy, but in doctrine,

discipline, and worship; or if in any of these points there should be a little difference, I see not the utility of aiming at a perfect coincidence in them; and I dread the discussion of matters, in themselves, probably, not essential to Christianity, and likely to produce religious dissensions between the two kingdoms.

"Above all things, I wish the Church of England to forbear affecting a superiority over that of Ireland, by attempting to obtain an appellant jurisdiction for the See of Canterbury.

"Your Grace, I hope, will pardon the freedom of these remarks, on account of the sincerity with which they are made. I am very anxious that no obstacles should be thrown in the way of the union from any quarter; and I fear some dissatisfaction may arise in the hearts of the bishops and clergy of Ireland, if we do not leave their church entirely to their own management, and as much as possible in the precise state in which it now stands.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"R. Landaff."

...RAJA SERFOGI'S SA...

Extract of a letter to the Duke of Grafton, to whom I had shewn an Essay on Original Sin.

"YOUR GRACE puts me in mind of the *Essay on Original Sin.* I certainly have it somewhere, but know not where to look for it. I will endeavour to find it, and to make it less unworthy Your Grace's inspection. I have said that I will endeavour to find it, but this endeavour will depend on my mind again receiving a bent towards such enquiries. I once had determined to write some essays on theological subjects; but I detest contention, and I soon perceived that the freedom of my researches would expose me to much censure, and involve me in most uncharitable altercation with the ignorant, the intolerant, and the orthodox. At an earlier period of life I should not have regretted these consequences; but as we grow old, we grow fond of peace, and unwillingly engage in pursuits likely to disturb our tranquillity. I am moreover so entirely occupied in providing for my family, by improving the few estates I have bought, that I have not

leisure to become learned; and to write on any subject without going to the bottom of it, would be dishonourable to myself, and useless to the public.

"I have explained clearly enough what sort of union with Ireland it is that I wish for, and have no doubt of *such an union* being in the highest degree useful to both countries. I may be mistaken in this judgment, but I have yet heard no reasons which induce me to change it. There occur, however, so many contingencies in all political concerns, that I am apt to suspect my own speculation on such points, and am not very eager in giving credit to the foresight of other men. As to reform, I wish it may be accomplished, but I am not authorised, either by the history of this country, or of any other that I ever read of, to expect that a rich and corrupted state will ever be reformed without being revolutionised, and a revolution is not, I believe, the wish of the best friends of a reform. "I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

In May, 1800, when there was a Bill be-

fore the House of Lords, to prevent persons convicted of the crime of adultery from intermarrying with each other, I received a very serious and sensible letter, from a gentleman, with whom I had no acquaintance, recommending it to me to write a tract, investigating the cause of the prevalence of the crime of adultery in the present age, and requesting me to inform him whether I would think of adopting the hint he had given. I thought the subject too important to be superficially treated, and had no inclination to enter deeply into it, and therefore merely sent him the subjoined note:—

"Calgarth Park, May 17, 1800.

"Sir,

"I RETURN you thanks for the flattering manner in which you are pleased to express yourself concerning my feeble endeavours in the service of religion and morality, and at the same time inform you that I have no thoughts of writing on the subject you mention.

"The *morals* of all nations have been ruined by their *riches*, and Great Britain will not escape the usual catastrophe.

Luxury makes men poor; poverty combined with luxury induces men, and women too, to marry, not from mutual liking and an approbation of a virtuous character, but from interest. Where there is no liking, there will soon be great indifference; disgust follows indifference; and the silly principle that there can be nothing wrong in doing what so many people do, finishes the business of matrimonial felicity, and paves the way to adultery.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

In 1793, I wrote the preliminary observations which are prefixed to the agricultural report of the county of Westmoreland, and intended to have written the whole report. But on Mr. Pringle's being employed by the Board of Agriculture to survey the county, I gave up my own design, and lent him what assistance I could. The country is indebted to Sir John Sinclair, for the establishment of the Board of Agriculture; his patriotism suggested the plan, and his perseverance surmounted all the difficulties which attended the obtain-

ing a charter, and setting the scheme afloat by becoming the first president. I was one of the thirty *ordinary* members of the Board, and was constant in my attendance at its meetings, whenever I was in London. Towards the end of 1799, I received from the president a plan for establishing (by a company of subscribers) experimental farms in the different counties, to which I sent the following answer:—

"Dear Sir John,

"I ADMIRE the activity of your mind, which is incessantly prompting you to exertions for the public good, and feel a great mortification when my ideas do not perfectly coincide with yours.

"I cannot form a clear judgment as to the utility of experimental farms, unless I knew more of the detail of conducting them. But I own, in the present view I have of them, I do not think they will be attended with much utility, and they certainly will be attended with an enormous expense, even if managed with the greatest attention and honesty; and, if carelessly and fraudulently managed, with much

vexation and anxiety to those concerned in their success.

"Most of the great improvements which have taken place in British agriculture, within the last fifty years, have been introduced by the nobility, gentry, and clergy of the country, under their own superintendence, or that of their immediate agents. I am of opinion that such men as the Duke of Bedford, Lord Egremont, and others of similar dispositions and abilities, (if such can be found,) in the different counties, will do more towards perfecting the agriculture of the kingdom, by trying experiments on their own estates, than by any experimental farms, however numerous, under the direction of any Society, however enlightened. [To the above names may now justly be added, those of Coke and Curwen.]

"There is a great mass (to use a phrase of which you are fond) of agricultural knowledge already collected in Young's works, in the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Commerce, in the Bath Letters and Papers, in

your agricultural surveys, (for I must give, not the Board of Agriculture, but you, the merit of having formed them,) and in a great variety of publications in our own and in other languages; but this mass is an *indigesta moles*, it must be resolved into distinct parts, and arranged under proper heads, before it can be of much use to practical farmers. Till this is done, till what is certainly known is distinguished from what is doubtfully conjectured, I profess I do not expect much information from experimental farms, nor see the possibility of conducting them with intelligence.

"There are many problems respecting the cultivation of land, which do not admit a solution; because the success or the failure of the experiments, which should be made in order to solve the problem, depends more upon the nature of the weather, which cannot be foreseen, than upon the quality of the soil or mode of management. Thus from one experiment, it may appear that drilling wheat is the most profitable mode of culture; from another, that dibbling it is preferable; and from a third,

that sowing it broad-cast is the best, according as the season happens to be hot or cold, wet or dry.

"But I perceive that I am entering into a long discussion, and raising objections instead of removing them: the conclusion is, that, though I do not expect much advantage from your plan, I will take a share in it. As to the great men in the city supporting it, if you do but exhibit the shadow of a guinea to be caught an hundred years hence, they will engage in the pursuit of it; but the old proverb, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, should teach them not to range beyond the field of Change-Alley.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Sir John Sinclair was the first president of the Board of Agriculture, and he was turned out of that office in a very unhandsome manner. On some occasion or other he had opposed Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons; and that gentleman, on the day fixed for the annual election of a president, suddenly excited a very unexpected

opposition; and by sending a great many *official* members to vote, none of whom had ever attended a single meeting of the Board, Lord Somerville was elected president. I know not whose disgrace was the greatest,—that of the minister who planned such a miserable manœuvre, or that of the men who degraded their high stations by assisting him in the execution of it. A year or two after this, Lord Carrington was made president; and I was asked by him, but declined, to become a vice-president. In 1800, His Lordship sent me an account of the premiums which the Board offered for essays, On the best means of converting certain portions of grass-land into tillage without exhausting the soil, and of returning the same to grass, after a certain period, in an improved state, or at least without injury. This subject had been recommended to the consideration of the Board by a committee of the House of Lords, who were then employed in examining into the causes of the then scarcity of bread-corn. I sent the following answer to this communication, in hopes that His Lord-

ship might suggest something really useful to Mr. Pitt, with whom he was very intimate:—

"Calgarth Park, 26th Dec. 1800.

"My Lord,

"I WILL not fail to circulate the advertisements which you have sent me, though I have no expectation of there arising, in this district, any candidate for the premium which the Board of Agriculture has offered. The plough is seldom put into the ground in Westmoreland, till moss has destroyed the herbage. Artificial grasses have begun to be sown in some parts, but the example is not yet generally followed.

"The Board will probably receive many essays [it did actually receive above 300], and your secretary might compile from his own works, and from numerous other agricultural publications, as good a one as any you will receive. Almost every point, on which the Board desires information, has been repeatedly discussed, and experimentally decided. But I do not expect much advantage to result from the publication of such essays as the Board requires, however

excellent they may be. They will never come into the hands of the generality of farmers; they will be hastily perused by a few, be soon laid on the shelf by them, and be forgotten in a twelvemonth by all.

"I am glad that the Board has reserved to itself the power of withholding any premium; in my opinion it will have great occasion for the discreet exercise of that power, if it would escape the imputation of having (though with the most honourable intention) misapplied the public money.

"Neither this, or any other country which is capable of producing a sufficiency of bread-corn for its inhabitants, ought ever to rely on the importation of that commodity. This reliance, however, will, even in a country naturally fertile, become absolutely necessary, when the *wages of manufacturers exceed those of husbandmen*; and this is at present the case in Great Britain. The high wages moreover of farming-servants, and the high price of farming-utensils, are a great obstruction to tillage; and have, in fact, induced thousands of farmers to turn their lands from tillage to pasturage.

MAHAL. ✻ ...

"That the lands of this kingdom, if they were all cultivated as they might be, would maintain one third or one half more inhabitants than they do at present, is a proposition of which I have no doubt; but I do doubt extremely, whether, in the present circumstances of the country, they will ever attain that desirable degree of cultivation.

"I have heard much, and I have read much about the propriety of passing a general enclosure bill; but if it were passed to-morrow, the present high price of labour would almost wholly obstruct the bringing waste land into cultivation, and unless waste lands are brought into cultivation, the enclosure of *common* fields will, as to the production of grain, do more harm than good.

"Whilst we continue masters of the ocean, and whilst our commerce supplies us with foreign wealth to purchase corn in foreign markets, it may seem to be a matter of indifference whether we grow corn or buy corn, whether our people are manufacturers or peasants. There is some truth in this position; yet our security as a na-

tion, (as far as that security is connected with the feeding of the people,) ought, I think, to be bottomed on a more solid foundation.

"The government, in my opinion, would well employ ten millions of money, or a much larger sum, if a larger should be found necessary, in bringing into cultivation every acre of waste land in this kingdom and in Ireland. By cultivation I mean, *Tillage, Pasturage,* and *Plantation.* I consider this as an object of the very first political importance, and most deserving the attention of the minister, and of every other enlightened statesman. When our barren mountains shall be covered with firs and larches, and the barrenest will grow larches, we shall have deal, pitch, tar, rosin, turpentine, within ourselves, instead of importing them at an enormous expense from other countries; and where food for an increased population shall be produced from an increased tillage and pasturage, we may be less anxious about expensive *continental alliances, than either we or our ancestors have been.*

"The improvement here mentioned I

have always had much at heart; it certainly might be made, and well and profitably made; but as I have no expectation of seeing any thing attempted on a great scale, I forbear troubling either Your Lordship or myself, with entering into any detail on the subject.—A matter of less importance than the cultivation of the waste land, yet sufficiently worthy of attention, has often been the subject of my consideration—*the taking off the tax on coals carried coast-wise, and used in burning lime.*

"I do not know the exact amount of the tax, but I do know that it is a great obstruction to the agriculture of the country. Lime is an useful manure for most lands, but especially for waste lands which are covered with heath, furze, ferns, &c. If laid, in proper quantities, on such lands, it changes them, without farther trouble or expense, into valuable pastures; and, if the improvement is carried farther, these pastures become good arable land. On account of the dearness of coal, many millions of tons of limestone remain unburned, which, if converted into lime, would be spread, with the most beneficial effect, both on productive and on unproductive lands.

"I am writing at a greater length than I intended, having no wish to trouble the Board with my speculations, but merely a desire to give yourself a testimony of that esteem with which I have the honour to be, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

I afterwards obtained from the Custom-House the following account of the amount of the coal duties. Total amount of the duties on coals exported in the year 1801, *92,552l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*—Total amount of the duties on coals carried coast-wise, distinguishing, 1st, the coals imported into London, and, 2d, the Out-Ports: London, 387,609*l.* 13*s.* 10½*d.*—Out-Ports, 134,404*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*—Now if the duty should be taken off from coal used in the burning of lime, supposing that duty, even with the frauds which might be committed, to amount to ten or twenty thousand pounds a-year, the loss to the revenue would be trifling; and much more lime would be burned than is now burned, and in less than fifty years, some millions of acres would be brought into cultivation, which must, without lime, remain in the

unproductive state they have hitherto been; to say nothing of the increase to the revenue from the increase of barley, &c.

There has been much more conjecture, and less certainty, concerning the quantity of waste land in the country, than there ought to have been concerning a matter of such importance, and capable of ascertainment. It is to be regretted that government suffers itself to remain in ignorance on such a subject, at a time when, from the state of Europe, we are peculiarly called upon to rely on our own resources. Why not order every county in Great Britain and Ireland to be parochially surveyed; the survey to contain the number of acres of wheat, barley, oats, beans, &c. the quantity of hay ground, and of enclosed pasture, and of wastes and commons, and other particulars which might be mentioned. The expense might either be paid out of the public grants, or defrayed in each county by a rate; and the survey be made under the direction of the justices of the peace, and when made, delivered to parliament. This idea might be enlarged into another

Domesday Book, comprehending a description of every estate in every parish in the kingdom; government would then have a clear view of the land of the country; and well cultivated land is not only the surest support of the population and strength of a country, but the fittest object of taxation. But whilst the time and talents of the greatest men in the nation, are miserably consumed in securing, or in acquiring, parliamentary majorities, what can be expected even from them? And as to minor statesmen (who are most prone to condemn what they cannot understand), you may as reasonably expect to thrust a cannon ball into the muzzle of a musket, as to make a little-minded man comprehend either the practicability or the utility of a great political object.

Letter to Mr. Wilberforce.

"April 1st, 1800.

"My dear Sir,

"YOUR great and unceasing endeavours to promote the cause of virtue and religion, deserve and have obtained the applause and

good will of all serious men; and I know not any person to whom I can communicate my notions on two points, respecting the improvement of the morals of the people, with greater probability of having them well considered, and, if thought useful and practicable, brought into effect.

"The parish-churches of this metropolis are greatly too few to afford an opportunity of attending divine service to the increasing numbers of its inhabitants, and this inconvenience is much augmented by the pews which have been erected in them. What I would propose is—the building an additional number of new churches, each on a large scale, in proper situations, which should have no appropriated seats, but, being furnished merely with benches, should be open alike to the poor and rich of all parishes and of all countries.

"The structure of these edifices should be as simple, and of as comprehensive a figure as possible, that no public money might be unnecessarily expended, and a clergyman of great character and ability should be appointed to officiate twice every Sunday in each of them, and to explain the

Catechism on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, without interfering with the emoluments or the duties of the parochial ministers, within whose parishes the new churches should be built.

"The salary of each clergyman should be, I think, about 400*l*. a year, but no curates should be allowed except in cases of extreme necessity.

"I forbear dilating on this scheme; many advantages and probably some objections will occur to a man of your penetration; but it is needless for me to enter into the consideration of either, till there is some prospect of the idea being adopted by government; and if the notion meets your own approbation, I can have no objection to your hinting the matter to Mr. Pitt.

"Twenty churches might be erected for an hundred thousand pounds, and the salaries of all the clergymen, clerks, and door-keepers would not amount to ten thousand a year. These sums, or sums larger than these, appear to me to be trifles, when expended for so beneficial a purpose.

"It might be of use to have a charity-box at each door of each church, the pro-

duce of which might be applied to some charitable purpose, (such as the reformation of prostitutes, the relief of prisoners for small debts, &c.) and the annual produce, I think, would not be inconsiderable; for many country-families, which come to town for a few months, would frequent these churches, and they would frequent them with more readiness if they had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves from the lower classes by voluntary donations to the charity-box.

"Another thing which deserves, in my humble judgment, the attention of government, is an evil which has increased very much, if it has not entirely sprung up in many places within the last thirty years — *the travelling of waggons and stage coaches on Sundays.* There are laws, I believe, to prevent this being done during the hours of divine service, but the difficulty of putting them in execution renders them, in a manner, useless. This evil might be remedied by an act of parliament of ten lines, enacting the payment of a great additional toll at each turnpike-gate which should be

passed by such carriages, between the hours of six and six on every Sabbath day.

"The avarice of commerce, I fear, would oppose the extension of such a law to mail-coaches; and the indifference of the opulent to religious duties, together with their fondness for travelling on a day when they experience the least obstruction on the road, would raise a cry against it, if it were proposed to extend it to all coaches and chaises.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Mr. Wilberforce, in his answer to my letter, promised to embrace any opportunity of giving effect to the object of it. He then added the following paragraph, which I put down merely to show the sense which Mr. Pitt's warmest friends entertained of the treatment I had met with. The bishopric of Bangor had been just then given to the Bishop of Chester. "I was in hopes "of ere now being able to congratulate "Your Lordship on a change of situation, "which in *public justice* ought to have "taken place. It is a subject of painful

"reflection to me, and I will say no more "on it, but as I am writing to Your Lord-"ship you will excuse my saying thus much. "I will only add, that the event at once "surprised and vexed me." Now I am upon this subject of *self* (which cannot well be avoided by a man writing anecdotes of his life), I will transcribe extracts from two other letters; the first is from Mr. Hayley in 1797:—

"You have nobly acquired a right to lay "aside your pen, and amuse yourself in "whatever field you choose, by the pre-"eminence of your literary achievements, "since your writings (pray observe that I "am now imparting to you the expression "of *Lord Thurlow*, which I promised to "communicate), since *your writings have* "*done more for Christianity than all the bench* "*of Bishops together.*"

The second is from a near relation of the late Lord Camden, in 1801:—

"What I think of your *public merits* can "be of no consequence to you, but what

"Lord Camden thought (in which I per-
"fectly coincided with him) would perhaps
"gratify you to know. He never changed,
"but always told Pitt, that it was a shame
"for him and the Church that you had
"not the most exalted station upon the
"bench, as due to the unrivalled superio-
"rity of your talents and services."

Reader! when this meets your eye, the author of it will be rotting in his grave, insensible alike to censure and to praise; but he begs to be forgiven this apparently self-commendation; it has not sprung from vanity, but from anxiety for his reputation, lest the disfavour of a Court should, by some, be considered as an indication of general disesteem, or a proof of professional demerit.

When my friends, seeing my juniors on the Bench repeatedly translated, enquired why no translation had been ever offered to me, I made no other reply, than that I knew of no reasonable cause. This neglect never gave me the least uneasiness, for I felt my heart glow with a spark of that

spirit which inflamed the elder Cato, when on observing that statues were erected to many, but none to himself, he said, *Malim ut de me quærant homines, quam ob rem Catoni non sit posita statua, quam quare sit posita;* declaring, as Erasmus interprets his meaning, *Se malle res præclaras gerere, ut olim scientes illum promeruisse statuam, mirentur non esse positam.*

The promise alluded to by Mr. Hayley, was given in consequence of my having complied with his request, that I would write a letter to his friend Mr. Cowper, to whom I was not personally known. Mr. Hayley had benevolently hoped, that a letter from me would raise the spirits and tranquillize the mind of Mr. Cowper, which was at that time much depressed.

Letter to Mr. Hayley.

"October 18, 1797.

"Dear Sir,

"By this post I have obeyed your commands in writing to Mr. Cowper; I cannot but admire your humanity which prompted

you to think of lessening the load of your friend's sufferings by such a remedy for his mental infirmity; it may have its effect for a moment, but disorders of the mind generally, though not universally, originate in a disordered body. Your benevolence is active and extensive. Romney owes much to your kindness. As to the young artist, it was enough for me that you wished me to sit to him; but if I had paid no regard to your wishes, I should have been ashamed to decline following the example of Lord Thurlow, a man of whom I think highly, though he is not so good a Whig as he might be.

"I am in this retirement a stranger to books and all literary ambition, and wholly occupied in improving an estate for the benefit of my family. It is not my fault that some of the best years of my life have been thus employed; had I met with the encouragement of my profession, which would have enabled me to make a moderate provision for eight children, I never should have commenced an agriculturist. I am, however, from experience, entirely of Lord Bacon's opinion, when he says,

that to cultivate our mother Earth is the most honourable mode of improving our fortune. You say nothing of your own health, and therefore I hope it is good; but it will give real pleasure to me to know that it is so. I beg to be always kindly esteemed by you, and am

"Your faithful servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

Letter to Mr. Cowper.

"Calgarth Park, Kendal, Oct. 18, 1797.

"Sir,

"I KNOW not how many years are passed since I first read and admired your delightful Poems; I yesterday finished my re-perusal of them, and you must allow me the singular liberty of testifying to you the great esteem in which I hold their author.

"In an age when religion is rejected, morality outraged, and the concerns of futurity lost in dissipation and sensual indulgence, it must give every serious mind sincere satisfaction to see the impressive manner in which you support the cause of

piety and virtue. You must not consider this testimony of my respect as an officious compliment; I pay it as a debt due to the manly zeal, for what is good and praise-worthy shown in all your writings.

"I will own to you that the consciousness of having laboured in the same cause with sincerity (with what success God only knows) gives a degree of comfort to me, in this retirement, where I spend eight months in the year, which nothing else could give.

"Your mind, I see, from various parts of your work, is elevated to the contemplation of the First Cause, and filled with veneration for his inscrutable perfections; this is a disposition of all others most to be coveted; it generates no melancholy, it frees the soul from superstitious apprehensions, it warms the heart, it enlivens hope, it teaches resignation, it deadens our affections for this world, and it thereby fits us for another. A man of this temper 'knows that God demands his heart entire,' and in offering such a sacrifice to his Maker, he has the strongest confidence that it will be graciously accepted by him.

"It gives me pleasure, it must give pleasure to every man who has any love for genius and virtue, to perceive that these qualities, though unnoticed by the many, are held in due estimation by the most enlightened part of mankind; hence I could not read without delight the eulogy bestowed on you by the author of the "Pursuits of Literature;" (I am under obligations to that gentleman, whoever he may be, for what he has said of me;) and though I do not agree with him in some of his censures, and have no pleasure in reading lampoons, I perfectly unite with him in opinion concerning yourself.

"I beg pardon for this intrusion, but presuming that my character is not wholly unknown to you, I have the vanity to think that you will excuse this liberty.

"The lakes are visited by all the world: if an excursion into these parts should ever be made by yourself, I beg you would try the hospitality of Calgarth Park.

"I am, Sir,

"With the greatest esteem,

"Your obedient servant,

"R. Landaff."

About this time Mr. Pitt, on the question of the Abolition of the Slave Trade being lost in the House of Commons, had stated his intention of bringing the matter again before the House before the termination of the session. I had never had an opportunity of speaking in the House of Lords on the subject, I sent, therefore, with an hope of doing some good, the following Letter to Mr. Pitt, and I here insert it as a testimony of my utter abhorrence of a trade, perhaps expressly forbidden by the word men-stealers (ανδραποδισταις, 1 Tim. i. 10.), and certainly virtually prohibited by that divine precept,—"As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise."

"Calgarth Park, May 14, 1800.

"Dear Sir,

"ABSTRACT reasoning on the subject of the Slave Trade must be so familiar to your mind, that it would be to abuse your time, to enter into any discussion concerning a state of slavery, as originating either in the crimes of individuals—or in the consequences of national wars unjustly com-

menced—or in that appropriation of the fruits of the earth which has in all countries, civilized and savage, taken place in a greater or less degree, whereby many of those who are born into the world have no other means of supporting their existence in it, but by voluntarily selling their labour, absolutely or conditionally, for a limited season, or for life, to those who will, for their daily labour, engage to afford them daily sustenance. I mean not to trouble you in this way; but as I observe that you still, much to the credit of your humanity, persevere in the measure of abolishing, or at least restricting the abominable traffic in African slaves as now carried on, I will state in a single sentence what has frequently occurred to my mind on the subject.

"Make it *cheaper* for the planters to rear slaves than to buy slaves, and the trade will in a few years cease of itself: might not this be brought about by imposing a duty on all imported slaves, and assigning that duty, with some additional premium, to those who reared them. I enter into no

detail, well knowing that if you like the suggestion you will readily reduce it to practice.

"But another thing should be attended to, if the plantations are ever to be cultivated by negroes born in the colonies,—*The emancipation of the negroes thus born, at a certain age:* this would be a proceeding consonant to justice, and to the manner in which the children of *paupers* are treated by ourselves: they are bound apprentices for such a period as may enable their master to reimburse himself, by the labour of their riper years, the expense incurred in supporting them during their infancy.

"The perpetuity of slavery in a man's posterity has always appeared to me a greater evil than the sufferance of it in his own person. If the children of slaves were to become free at thirty years of age, the planters would have a sufficient compensation for rearing them, and the present slave-parents would have a motive for taking care of their progeny. This progeny becoming free at a certain time, would generate free children

after that time, and thus the colonies would be supplied with a race of free and therefore, in general, of good and happy labourers.

"It is falsely, I think, asserted, that an importation of slaves into the West Indies is necessary to keep up the stock. If the slaves were properly treated, the births would exceed the deaths among them. I know a gentleman who has above three hundred slaves on his plantation: he never bought a slave, and yet has more now than when he succeeded his father in the estate, above forty years ago.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

I had, several years before this, mentioned to Lord Thurlow, that I thought West India slavery might be quietly and gradually abolished, by emancipating the children of negroes when they attained a certain age; but it was not till after the rejection of the Slave Bill in 1804, that I found the *Abbé Raynal* had supported, at some length, the same notion in the eleventh book of his "History of European Settle-

ments in India." Mammon is the god of every commercial nation: its power is irresistible; for it either darkened the intellect, or blunted the sympathy of a British Parliament, for a great many years.

Before I left town this year, the following correspondence took place between Mr. Pitt and myself, on a subject of great importance:

Letter to Mr. Pitt.

"Great George-street, April 16, 1800.

"Dear Sir,

"On dining yesterday with the Archbishop of Canterbury, His Grace informed me that a Bill for enforcing a better residence of the Clergy was now in contemplation. Ignorant as I am of the provisions of the intended Bill, I may be giving you unnecessary trouble in communicating such sentiments as at present occur to me on the subject. But I trust you will pardon this my presumption, proceeding from a sense of duty, especially as I shall be in the country when the business will be brought

forward, and may have no other opportunity of suggesting any thing on a matter which has always been an object of my sincere and earnest wishes.

" The safety of *every* civil government is fundamentally dependent on the hopes and fears of another world, which are entertained by its members; and the safety of every *Christian* civil government is brought into the most imminent danger, when infidelity is making a rapid progress in the minds of the people. This I apprehend is the state of danger in which Great Britain (to say nothing of Ireland) now stands. It may be difficult to find a full remedy for this evil; but the residence of a respectable clergyman in every parish and hamlet in which there is a place of established worship, appears to me to be more fitted than any other for that purpose.

" I do not wish a Bill respecting residence to have any violent retrospect as to the present pluralists: they perhaps ought to remain subject only to the existing laws; for it would bring ruin on many individuals, who are now married and happily settled,

if they were compelled to change their situations. But I see no individual hardship, and much public good which would attend a new law suffering, after it had passed, no man to hold two benefices of any kind.

"As, however, there are many benefices utterly inadequate to the affording even a bare maintenance to an *unmarried* clergyman, a law abolishing *in futuro* all pluralities ought to be accompanied with another making a decent provision for every resident minister. An hundred pounds a-year ought to be the very least stipend annexed to any benefice, and, such sum being annexed, service twice every Sunday should be required in all. Benefices above an hundred a-year should remain, I think, as they are; unless it should be judged expedient, on a vacancy, *to take the first fruits on a real valuation, constituting thereby a fund towards augmenting benefices under an hundred to that sum.*

"Houses of residence for the clergy should be bought or built at the public expense, or by the Governors of Queen Anne's bounty, for livings under an hundred pounds a-year.

" The number of livings under an hundred a-year, their respective values, and the state of their parsonage-houses, should be accurately ascertained, and laid before parliament, in order that the additional public burden attending the giving a decent maintenance to the clergy might be known: it would, I am persuaded, whatever its magnitude might be, meet with no opposition from the judicious part of the community. The bishops would be able to make, if required, this return to parliament by means of their officers.

" Livings held *in commendam* or annexed without *commendam* to bishoprics, to headships and professorships in the Universities, to public schools, &c. should be exempted from the operation of this law, as the residence of their possessors cannot be expected.

" The greatest part of the benefices under an hundred pounds a-year, are in the patronage of Lay Impropriators. Many of these Impropriators would, I doubt not, be moved by a sense of piety, and a regard for public safety, to contribute largely to-

wards rendering the income of each place of worship in their patronage not less than the sum I have mentioned.

"I cannot at present ascertain the number of livings in the patronage of the Universities and their respective colleges, in that of deans and chapters, of hospitals, corporations, &c.; perhaps they may amount to above a thousand. But be the number what it may, would it be an unreasonable thing to expect, that these several bodies should make up from their own revenues every living in their patronage to a stipend of an hundred pounds? The property of these corporations has been greatly increased within the last forty years, whilst their poor vicarages, &c. have remained nearly in *statu quo*.

"In Denmark, and I believe in Scotland and other Protestant countries, (in Catholic countries non-residence is scarcely heard of,) the stipends of their clergy are not paid in full, unless they reside the whole year. What defalcation of income might be proper to be exacted on a partial absence of a minister from his living, is a

question for the wisdom of the legislature to determine; but some deduction I think ought to be made, unless in cases of sickness or other emergencies to be allowed of by the bishop of the diocese.

" If any thing is attempted, I wish the axe to be laid to the root of the evil. Sectaries are every where increasing, and some of them are thought to mingle political with religious opinions; and though all men ought to be allowed the liberty of worshipping God according to their conscience, yet serious persons would be glad to see a stop put to the miserable effusions of enthusiastic ignorance. The prudent zeal of a resident clergyman in watching over his flock would be more efficacious to this purpose, than a whole code of penal laws.

" I will not trespass on your time by entering into a longer detail, well knowing the facility with which your mind is able to fill up the outline of any plan which you may deem worthy of consideration.

" I have the honour, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

SWATI MAHAL

Mr. Pitt's Answer to the preceding Letter.

"Downing-street, April 17, 1800.

"My dear Lord,

"I RETURN Your Lordship many thanks for your letter of yesterday, in which you have the goodness to communicate to me many important suggestions on the subject of a plan for enforcing a better residence of the clergy. I will, with your permission, send you a copy of the plan which has been prepared, and I am happy to observe, that in many essential points it will be found very conformable to the sentiments which you have expressed. On the only points in which it differs, I should be extremely glad to have an opportunity of conversing with you before you leave town.

"I have the honour to be, with great regard,

"Your Lordship's obedient
"and faithful servant,
"W. PITT."

I replied to this note, that I would wait upon Mr. Pitt at any time he would ap-

point before Tuesday next, when I purposed to leave London. He was taken ill, and I did not see him; but as I came out of the House of Lords on Monday evening, Lord Grenville spoke to me on the subject. The substance of my advice to Lord Grenville is contained in the following letter to Mr. Pitt:—

"Great George-street, April 22, 1800.

"Dear Sir,

"Lord Grenville told me yesterday, as I was coming out of the House of Lords, that you had communicated to him the letter which I had the honour to address to you, relative to the Bill for promoting the residence of the clergy. Apprehending that I should not have an opportunity, from the pressure of the important business [Union with Ireland] in which you are engaged, of seeing you before I left town, (and I am now stepping into my coach for that purpose,) I desired him to communicate to you a few things which occurred to me at the moment, and which I now put on paper lest they should have escaped his recollection.

" Would it be improper to put off the matter to another session? Before that time every thing might be well considered, and the requisite information obtained. It is a very ticklish business to meddle with the church; for setting aside the consideration of the high and low church principles, which are dormant but not dead in this kingdom, there are many jarring lay and clerical interests to be reconciled, before any great public good can be expected from an attempt to reform the church in any degree.

" The bishops, I think, should be authorised, as was done in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, to issue a commission (I may err as to the term, having no books here,) requiring, where necessary, the testimony on oath of the clergy and others, as to the values at present of all the livings which were then discharged from the payment of first fruits and tenths, as being under fifty pounds a-year, and also of all benefices which, being of small value, never were in charge in their respective dioceses. Many of these livings, which were in the time of Queen Anne discharged from the

payment of first fruits and tenths, as being under fifty pounds a-year, and some of those which never were charged with that payment, are now worth one hundred pounds a-year or more.

"If a more complete knowledge is wished for, and I own I think it would be desirable to have it, not only for the reason hinted briefly in my former letter, but to correct the errors of many, who over-estimate the church-endowment, a return to parliament or to the King in council of the values of all benefices with cure of souls might be ordered; and the reason assigned for this, so as not to excite an alarm, might be,—that government wished to know the actual value of all the small livings, previous to the consideration of making a better provision for a resident clergy. The enquiry, as to the livings above fifty pounds in Queen Anne's time, is certainly not improper to be made now. Many of these livings, being vicarages, are little increased since that time, though the price of provisions is trebled at the least.

"There are in many dioceses contiguous livings, the values of which, if united,

would make a decent provision for a clergyman residing strictly in one of them, and doing full duty (morning and evening alternately) once every Sunday in each of them. An union of this kind is not so good in some respects, as a separate provision for two resident clergymen, but it is better in others; for it would render the public burden, which must be imposed, if any thing effectual is done, less considerable.

"I shall be happy to be of any use to you in this business: if properly accomplished it will do you as much credit with posterity as the Irish union will do. They are both of them great measures; they will both of them be of eminent use to the present generation; but a statesman looks far beyond the present moment, and posterity is the best judge of his merit.

"I have given up my house in town, and I mention this circumstance, that if you have occasion to write to me, you may direct your letter to me at Calgarth Park, Kendal.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

I had no farther intercourse with Mr. Pitt or Lord Grenville on the business of the clergy-residence. Their intended bill was then laid aside, probably from their finding that they had not sufficiently investigated the matter, and in March, 1801, they both went out of office.

Letter to the Duke of Grafton.

"Calgarth Park, March 31, 1801.

"My dear Lord Duke,

"UNAVOIDABLE business has forced me to delay thanking Your Grace for your last letter longer than I ought to have done; for whether it may be in my power or not to relieve your anxiety, I should never forgive myself if I appeared inattentive to it.

"Both reason and revelation instruct us to believe that the Creator of the universe wills the happiness of his creatures, not for his own sake but for theirs. It would be impious to suppose that our vices could disturb His peace, or our virtues augment His felicity; this would be to make a God with the passions of a man, to render the infinite perfection of the Creator dependent

on the imperfection of the creature. When, therefore, we read of the punishment denounced in the Gospel against all manner of wickedness, we may properly consider the threatening as the gracious warning of a wise and affectionate Father, rather than as the tyrannical declaration of a cruel and vindictive God. Vice and consequent misery arising from loss of health, of character, of fortune, of self-government, and other sources, are generally, if not universally, connected together in this world, and we may from reason analogically infer that, if there is another world, they will be so connected there also. Now it hath pleased God, through Jesus Christ, to assure us that there is another world, and to confirm this analogical inference by a positive declaration, that the connexion which we observe here between vice and misery will remain hereafter. This declaration is made to us as if it were the arbitrary appointment of God that punishment should follow sin rather than a certain consequence springing from the nature of things, that misery should follow vice; but the conclusion rests on the same foundation in whatever way

we consider the matter; for what is the nature of things, what the constitution of this world and of the next; but the positive appointment of God himself? Transgress and die is a positive law, be vicious and be miserable is a natural law, they are equally the means of God's moral government of free agents; the latter is intimated to us by reason, the former is promulgated in the Gospel, and they are, like their Author, both of them immutable. But these are not the only laws of God's moral government; there is another intimated to us by reason, and clearly made known to us by the Gospel, and it is a law which mitigates the severity of the others, which administers consolation to our fears, and strength to our inability: it is this, — Repent and be forgiven, — turn away from wickedness, do that which is lawful and right, and though you have sinned you shall save your soul alive; this is the voice of Revelation; and reason says, Cease from vice, and you will lessen if not wholly annihilate the misery attendant on it.

"Repentance is a change of mind accompanied by a change of conduct; this

change of mind is then most perfect when it proceeds from the fear of God, from fear grounded on our love to Him, and regulated by filial reverence and humble confidence in His mercy; and it is then most sincere and certain when it is followed by a change of conduct, from viciousness to sobriety of manners, from habitual sinfulness to habitual righteousness of life. A man may be actuated by fear of punishment, and change his conduct from vice to virtue, but this does not, strictly speaking, imply such a change of mind as is essential to true repentance. When a man abstains from murder, theft, robbery, merely because he fears the gallows; when he conceals his intemperance, pride, envy, malignity, and evil propensities of any kind, merely to preserve his character from censure, and to exhibit a fair outside to the world, his heart is not right, his mind is not changed, his old man is not put off, his repentance is nothing. But when a man might commit sin with secrecy, and as to all human tribunals with impunity; when he might indulge his sensuality, gratify his revenge, satiate his envy, feed his malig-

nity, without danger to his health, fame, or fortune; when he might do these things and yet abstains from doing them, because God has forbidden him to do them, and because he is persuaded that God loves him and forbids him nothing, but with a gracious design to preserve him from misery here and hereafter, then is his repentance sincere, his obedience is a reasonable service, his heart is in a proper state of resignation, humility, love, trust, and gratitude, toward the Author of all good.

"I give Mr. Pitt credit for his resignation, if it was occasioned by a resistance from another quarter to his liberal sentiments towards the Catholics in Ireland, and the Dissenters in this country; though I shall never excuse him if, for the sake of pleasing the Court, he either commenced or continued this war in opposition to his own judgment.

"I have had no inclination to examine, on a broad basis, the neutral code; this I know, that the law of nations (prior to specific convention) is nothing but the law of nature extended to communities, which,

in discussions of this kind, are properly considered as individual moral persons. If A. and B., in a state of nature, quarrel, what right have either or both of them to injure C., who has no enmity to either of them? C. has commodities to sell, he is willing to sell them either to A. or B., or to both of them without distinction or preference. No, says A., you shall not sell them to B.—No, says B., you shall not sell them to A.; and thus the natural right of C. to dispose of what is his own is unjustly abridged both by A. and B.

"I am ever,
"Your Grace's faithful and
"Obliged servant,
"R. LANDAFF."

In 1802, Sir William Scott introduced a bill into the House of Commons to enforce the residence of the clergy, and to protect them from some illiberal and oppressive prosecutions to which they were liable for non-residence. This bill never reached the House of Lords, it was stopped in its progress thither by Lord Grenville's hav-

ing stated, that a more effectual measure had been in contemplation, and would be by him brought forward.

In the following June (1802) I visited my diocese, and published my Charge, which I had written with a view to promote the due consideration of one of those reforms in the church, which I had proposed twenty years before. I sent copies of this Charge to Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt, to put them in mind of what had passed between us on the subject two years before; and to Mr. Addington, the then minister, that I might rouse his attention to it. I foresaw that I should not be in town during the winter; and I was, on that account, desirous of communicating my sentiments through the medium of the press.

Letter to George Hardinge, Esq., in Answer to one of his, mentioning his Design of writing something of Importance.

" Calgarth Park, Feb. 19, 1803.

" My dear Sir,

" I HAVE read your letter with great

pleasure: I like to listen to a man of parts, *multa et præclara minantem.* Of all your various projects, I most approve of the life of your uncle. I was not indeed pleased with what I thought a desertion of his principles in the latter part of his life, yet as you assure me that this change proceeded not from interested compliances with the will of another, but from a real change of sentiment, I am reconciled to it. This life would afford you a great opportunity of enlarging upon the injustice, and impolicy, of the American war, of delivering your sentiments on the causes and the occasions of the French Revolution; and of divining the consequences of these two great events to ourselves, to Europe, and to mankind. Next to the life of your uncle, I like a disquisition on Criminal Law. In writing on this subject, the matter should be taken up *ab ovo,* from that only first origin of all human governments—compact; and it should be pursued through all its branches; embracing the civil and religious relations of men to the state, and to each other. The works of Puffendorf and Grotius, the Frederician Code, as well as that

of Justinian, the Edict of the Grand Duke of Tuscany for the reform of criminal law in his dominions, translated into English, and printed at Warrington, but not sold, in 1789, and a variety of other books better known to you than to me, would be useful helps in such an undertaking. Before you begin it, you will consider *quid valeant humeri;* I do not mean whether your talents are equal to such a task, I assume that as a point admitted, but whether you can assure to yourself comfort in such severe and continued application, as a work of that importance would require. I have ordered a copy of my Sermons and Tracts to be left for you at your house. You will accept it as a pledge of my regard; and in my letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the appendix to it, you will see what I then thought of the state of the church and still think. Your uncle saw this letter some months before it was published, and returned it to me with saying, "There was "not a line in it which did not contain a "great truth, but that it would take me "twenty years to overcome men's preju-"dices." He went afterwards into admini-

stration, but he never spoke to me a word on the subject; what encouragement had I to proceed? One of the reforms proposed in that letter has at length been deemed worthy the consideration of government, and I have communicated three years ago my sentiments very fully to Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, who were then engaged in framing a bill to enforce the residence of the clergy: the bishops are at present destitute of the power of doing it; and there are thousands of cases in the present state of the provision for the clergy in which it ought not to be done, had they the power. I offered last year, first to the Archbishop, and afterwards to the bishops in general, at a meeting at Lambeth, to make, with their approbation, the following motion in the House of Lords, and to support it:— That a committee, consisting of six temporal and six spiritual Peers, be appointed, to take into consideration the laws respecting the *maintenance*, and the *residence* of the clergy, and to make a report to the House. I thought this was the most dignified and the most intelligent mode of proceeding, in order to obtain a sure basis

for a future bill enforcing residence; my opinion was not adopted, but it was thought advisable that Sir W. Scott's bill should be brought forward. Can you wonder that I decline farther interference in this business? What I think of the matter is sufficiently known by my writings, and from my correspondence will be known to those who have the power to effectuate the purpose; and it will be, probably, as well done in my absence as if I were present; for there will then be no obstruction, arising from envy and jealousy, little passions, no doubt! but such as sometimes appertain to men in high stations.

"I have an aversion to letter-writing, especially on subjects of moment, because an hour's conversation would settle points which a year's correspondence would leave undecided; but I have trespassed for this once on your time and my own, because I wished to show my regard for the myrtle.

"Feb. 19, 1803."

Lord Sheffield had desired me to give him some information relative to the growth and consumption of Oak-timber; and on

the 17th of March, 1803, I sent him the following letter:—

"My Lord,

"In my preliminary observations, prefixed to Mr. Pringle's Agricultural Report of the County of Westmoreland, (8vo. edition,) there are some calculations, respecting the growth of oak and of larch wood, upon which, after a re-perusal, I am disposed to rely; and to these I refer Your Lordship for the main part of what I know on the subject of your intended publication: I could furnish more particulars, but the general inferences would not be altered thereby.

"In a book now before me, entitled,— Planting and Ornamental Gardening, published by Dodsley in 1785, it is said, (p. 499,) that a seventy-four gun ship takes two thousand trees of two tons each, and, supposing forty such trees growing on an acre, clears fifty acres of woodland. This may be so, but the observation does not extend far enough. Admitting, however, this to be a fact, and supposing that the navy, for the construction of new ships,

and the repair of old ones, would require ten times that quantity annually, 500 acres would supply the annual consumption, and fifty thousand acres would supply the demand for ever, if trees of one hundred years' growth are large enough for navy timber.

"The way of ascertaining the real annual consumption of oak-timber in ship-building, seems to be, first to ascertain (I suppose from the Custom-House books) the number of tons of British shipping of all kinds, annually employed in Great Britain; next to derive, from the information of different ship-builders, the quantity of oak used per ton in ship-building, on an average of all sorts of ships; from these two sources of information a proper inference may be drawn, ascertaining the quantity of oak used in the construction of all the shipping now in Great Britain, which being divided by the number of years which such shipping will on an average last, we shall then know the quantity annually wanted to keep us in *statu quo* for ever.

"An oak coppice is, with us, worth twenty pounds a statute acre at fifteen years' growth; supposing money to double

itself in fifteen years at compound interest of *5l.* per cent., and every succeeding fall to be of the same value as the first, then in seven falls, or in 105 years, an acre would produce 2,540*l.*, a sum so exceedingly surpassing the value of 40 trees of 105 years' growth, even with taking into consideration the value of the underwood whilst any remained, that the comparison need not be instituted, if profit is solely attended to in the management of woods.

"I this year sold a customary acre (6,760 square yards) of oak, of 29 years' growth, from an old stub, for 126*l.*, and left standing 260 of the best trees, the value of which I estimate at 40*l.*, so that the clear value of this coppice may be put at 166*l.* If we trace this sum, even supposing that the stub did not shoot out again, and that the whole had been cut, it will appear, that in 75 years, (that is in 104 years' growth,) it will at a compound interest of *5l.* per cent. amount to 6,446*l.*

"*Evelyn* gives some instances of the value of oak woods at different periods of their growth, in order to show the advantage of letting them stand till a great age, but he

has forgotten to take into consideration the increase of the money at compound interest, which they were worth when first valued, compared with what they were worth at the second valuation.

" *Mr. South,* in the sixth volume of the Bath Agricultural Letters, has bestowed much attention on the management of woods; and, though objections might properly be made to some parts of his reasoning, it may be worth while to look into that book.

" *Buffon* and *Du Hamel* are accurate writers, and of great estimation, respecting the growth and management of woods: I have not their works at hand, but I remember that there is much information to be met with, relative to your enquiries, in the first volume of Du Hamel's treatise,—*De L'Exploitation des Bois.*

" If in any thing else I can promote your endeavours for the public good, I beg you would command me without scruple.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

Sir William Scott introduced a new bill

into the House of Commons, in 1803; and on the 31st of March in that year, a debate came on in the House of Lords, relative to suspending the act of the 21st of Henry VIII., respecting the residence of the clergy, till the 8th of the following July, when the Bishop of St. Asaph proposed an amendment, by inserting instead of the 8th of July the 13th of May. He withdrew his motion on the assurance of the Chancellor, and of the Lords Alvanley and Ellenborough, that they would not consent to any longer suspension than to the 8th of July. Expecting no good from the violent and hasty manner in which Sir W. Scott's new bill was called for in this debate, I wrote the following letter to the Lord Chancellor Eldon:—

"Calgarth Park, Kendal, April 6th, 1803.

"My Lord Chancellor,

"I HAVE ordered a copy of my late Charge to the clergy of my diocese to be left at your house, as it contains a few observations respecting the residence of the clergy; and I take the liberty of troubling Your Lordship with this letter on the same

subject, as I do not foresee any probability of my attending parliament during this session.

"When I was in London last year, I made the following proposal to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the first place, and afterwards to the bishops collectively assembled at Lambeth.—That, thinking it consistent with the duty and the dignity of the bishops to undertake the protection of the clergy, a motion should be made in the House of Lords, for the appointment of a committee, consisting of six spiritual and six temporal peers, to take into consideration the laws respecting the *residence* and the *maintenance* of the clergy, and to make a report to the House, as a basis for a future bill. I added, that I was far from wishing to appear forward in the business, but that if no other bishop would do it, I was ready, with their concurrence, and with that of the minister, to make and support the motion.

"This proposal was not adopted; and whilst I staid in town I gave what assistance I could, in revising your brother's bill. This bill, for which the country and

the clergy are highly indebted to the author of it, was not brought into the House of Lords. That Sir William Scott should have again occupied his mind with the affairs of the church is a great instance of his courtesy and good disposition towards it; and I am astonished at seeing his designs thwarted by the precipitancy of those who ought to have known the difficulty of the undertaking.

"I dislike palliatives in curing great national evils. If the non-residence of the clergy is so great an evil as to require the interposition of the legislature to check it, I wish the check to be effectual. But before any thing is done, it ought undoubtedly to be proved, that the evil is of a magnitude to require such interposition. This may be effected by a short act of parliament, requiring the bishops to make a return to the King in council or otherwise, of all the resident, and of all the non-resident clergy, (with the reasons of their non-residence, where they are known,) in their respective dioceses.

"The magnitude of the evil being, by this or by any better mode, sufficiently

ascertained, its origin would then, with propriety, come into consideration; for the cause of the malady should be distinctly investigated, before an adequate remedy can be applied.

"This evil of non-residence, of whatever magnitude it may be, appears to me to originate chiefly in the scanty provision which is made for the greatest number of the parochial clergy, by which they are compelled to accumulate as many benefices as they can hold, in order to provide a proper maintenance for themselves and their families.

"There may be instances of country clergymen who occasionally live in towns; but these instances are, comparatively speaking, not numerous, nor are they in all cases to be blamed. A man of great talents, and good manners, may, by mingling with the higher classes of society in great towns, as essentially promote the belief and practice of Christianity, as if he were constantly conversant with a dozen peasants, his parishioners, in a country village. The want of medical assistance; the desire of giving a suitable education to

his own children; the hope of bettering his situation, by educating the children of others; the being engaged in literary pursuits, where a variety of books is required; these and such like causes are the main ones which induce some of the clergy to wish for a town-residence; and if their place is supplied in the country by a resident curate, I cannot think that much mischief will follow from such an indulgence being granted to a few, and it will never be desired by many of the body. Nay, if a young man should be accidentally inspired with an ambition to display his talents before a more respectable audience than his country parish affords him, his ambition should be rather encouraged, than ridiculed and restrained; for a desire of acquiring professional fame is, next to poverty, the great source of professional excellence and industry.

"I am so far from thinking the following three months too long a period for suspending the operation of the act of the 21st Hen. VIII., that I heartily wish it were suspended for three years, and that the intermediate time were employed by

parliament in probing the sore so loudly complained of to the bottom, and in preparing a lenient, but at the same time a radical remedy.

"The bishops, in my simple judgment, should, by an act passed in the present session, be empowered and enjoined to make a return, in the course of twelve months, of the real value of every living in their several dioceses, not exceeding the yearly value of 100*l.* after the manner which was prescribed by the discharging act in the 5th of Queen Anne; or, which would be still better, commissioners, as in Henry VIIIth's time, should be appointed to make a new survey of all ecclesiastical property, in whose patronage soever it is vested. Parliament would then, having the whole matter clearly before them, be enabled to deliberate coolly and intelligently on the subject; and would, I have no doubt, finally pass such acts relative to the *residence* and *support* of the parochial clergy, as would be of singular benefit to the country in a political, as well as in a religious view.

"Your Lordship and the two other learned lords from whom I so essentially differ in opinion, as to the period beyond which the suspension ought not to be extended, will pardon me, I am persuaded, when I profess that this difference proceeds from no principle whatever, except from a strong conviction of the importance of the subject; and from an anxious desire, that the evil of non-residence may be done away, and the honour and utility of the church establishment be thereby ascertained and secured.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

No attention was paid to this letter, and I interfered no farther in the business. I neither thought so highly of the Chancellor's talents on any subject, nor so meanly of my own on the subject of an ecclesiastical reform, as to judge that it became me to overlook his discourtesy in not answering my letter. The bill was passed into an act, which has rather increased than lessened the evil of clerical non-residence.

Letter to Professor Findlay, at Glasgow, on his sending me his Publication on the Divine Inspiration of the Jewish Scriptures.

"April 5th, 1803.

"Reverend Sir,

"I HAVE at length received and read with attention your Essay on the Divine Inspiration of the Jewish Scriptures. I observe in it the same patient investigation of your subject, which I so much admired many years ago, when I first perused your book in answer to Voltaire.

"I had not *St. Augustin*'s work at hand when I quoted him, nor do I now recollect from whence I took the quotation; but I perfectly well recollect, that my intention in making that, and the quotation from Bishop *Law*, was to induce Mr. *Paine* and other unbelievers to consider, whether the Bible might not be worthy their attention, as containing true histories of various transactions, though the writers of those histories might not be inspired in every particular.

"*Josephus*, in his first book against *Apion*,

says,—'Such things as passed in ancient times, quite beyond the memory of man, were only written by the Prophets, who had the knowledge thereof by inspiration from God;' (*Lodge's Translation*, p. 766, in this retirement I cannot have access to the original;) and he then enumerates the twenty-two books constituting the Jewish Canon.

"Every Jew, I suppose, held the same opinion, as to the inspiration of their sacred books, that Josephus did. The ἱερα γραμματα, in which Timothy had been instructed, were these books. There was no occasion for St. Paul to tell him that these books were inspired: he *knew* it. But there was occasion to inform a young man, that in becoming a minister of the Gospel, he would find every inspired writing, all the ἱερα γραμματα, profitable for doctrine, &c. This appears to me to be the sense of the passage; and, if it is, the και is an interpolation.

"But I may be wrong in this notion, and have no taste for theological subtilties, though I highly value such candid criticism as you have shown in your Essay. Wish-

ing you health and happiness, and the attainment of truth in all your studies,

"I am, with great esteem, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

To an old friend of mine, who had expressed his surprise at my suffering the Clergy Residence Bill to be agitated, without my taking any part in it, I sent the following letter, as an explanation of my conduct:—

"Calgarth Park, 9th of April, 1803.

"My dear Sir,

"I enclose a copy of a letter which I sent to the Chancellor, as soon as I had read the debate in the House of Lords, relative to the Clergy Residence Bill. I know not how it will be received, for all statesmen are terribly conceited things; as if they wished the world to believe, that a King's nomination to office gave wisdom as well as power.

"I feel happy in having thus done my duty, and am perfectly indifferent what ministry may think of my interfering in this way.

SWATI MAHAL. ❋ TH

"I stated to Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, about three years ago, in a long detail, my opinion of what ought to be done. It coincided pretty much with what they had intended; and if Lord Grenville brings forward any measure, as he promised last year to do, we shall see what use is made of my notions. The Bishop of Durham is also acquainted with my sentiments; as I sent him, the last summer, a copy of my letter to Mr. Pitt, which he was polite enough to approve, calling it a state paper.

"I am grown too old to think of figuring as a parliamentary debater. Had I been treated with confidence and respect by administration, twenty years ago, I could have taken a great lead in the House of Lords, and rendered both to the church and state some service, without being glued by the strongest of all cements,—self-interest (a circumstance I have always abhorred,) to any party.

"I have more of *Melancthon* than of *Luther* in my composition. I wish reforms to take place, but I detest violence and contention. I give my advice freely; but if it is not followed, I content myself with thinking that

it ought to have been followed; and thus, combining pride with humility, let the matter drop.

"I like all the objects you speak of in your letter, for the materials of your relation's life. Methodise the whole before you begin any part: imitate, at least read with attention, some of the best lives of Plutarch, and fear not producing an excellent work; not an ephemeral farrago of newspaper trash, but a κτημα εις αει worthy of you and of him.

"I am, &c.

"R. L."

In his answer to the above, my friend hinted, that robes and furred gowns did not do me justice, and pressed me with much importunity to go to town. I sent him the following letter, June 21, 1803:—

> "Fidis offendar medicis, irascar amicis,
> Cur me funesto properent arcere veterno?

"This cannot be said of me; I feel no symptoms of lethargy, and am so far from being angry with such friends as wish to rectify, by the standard of their wisdom,

what they esteem an obliquity in my conduct, that I think myself indebted to their kindness for the attempt. This, my dear Sir, is meant for yourself. To others who impertinently demand, why I do not come to town? I answer with the spirit of Cæsar — Go tell them I will not come. I also have my robes and furred gowns, and I know that they have been as honourably obtained and as purely preserved as any of theirs; and, *detractâ istâ pelle* on both sides, I am ready to meet in argument, on the subject of the Church, the wisest He in St. Stephen's Chapel. Have I not met him? Was my letter to the Chancellor a thing of no value, deserving of no answer? No answer has been given; should I not be wanting in the respect I owe to myself, if I condescended to take a part in a business commenced and carried on in a way contrary to my advice?

"I affect not the reputation of a statesman or of a churchman; but when I compare myself with either the statesmen or with the churchmen of the present day, I have not the meanness to think, that my advice on any subject is not of weight

enough to arrest the attentions of the wisest of them both.

"I am not so silly as to expect that every man can think with me, nor so *farouche* as to be displeased with any one who differs from me in opinion; but the—Reverence thyself—is ever too much in my mind to suffer me to support measures which I disapprove, and I wholly disapprove the present mode of securing the residence of the clergy.

"Read over again my letter to the Lord Chancellor, and my last letter to yourself, and if they do not satisfy you that I am right in looking forward to a more substantial ecclesiastical reform, and in not promoting this botchy business, you must forgive me if I never say another word to you on the subject.

"To you, my friend, I will say, that my church-preferment will not afford a journey to London every year; and I do not feel myself bound by any principle of prudence, of honour, or of duty, to waste my little private fortune, which by incessant exertion of my own and the kindness of my friends, I have provided for my children,

in the public service. For eighteen years I attended parliament; my children during that period wanted education; that want being over, I gave up, three years ago, my house in town, with a determination that till I was better provided for, I would not go to London excepting every other year. As to those you may meet with (plenty of them no doubt!) who, without knowing my present circumstances, without adverting to the labours of my past life, presume to blurt out their cavils and their calumnies, I wish them not to hear from my friends any other defence, for they will never hear any other from me except γρυ-γρυ, the full meaning of which you will understand, though they will not.

"I am, &c.

"R. L."

My friend still continued to urge me to go to town: I put a final stop to his well-intentioned importunity by the following letter, dated June 31, 1803:—

"My dear Sir,

"Your *exhortations* or *admonitions*—be

they what they may — are considered by me as scions springing from a root of friendship; to pluck them off with indignation is not my intention, but I must not suffer them to increase: they would rob the root of its proper vigour, and I wish it to remain unimpaired.

" *Parmenio* and *Alexander* are the representatives of all men who give and who reject advice. It is impossible for different men to have the same feelings or to see objects in the same light; all that can be done to preserve harmony, is either for the one party not to give advice, or for the other not to be angry at its being given, and with this observation, I, at least, will let the subject of your three letters drop. Yet if I thought fit to follow the impulse of my mind, it would be to examine all you have urged or can urge on the *interest*, the *fame*, and the *duty*, and to show the hollowness of the argument derived from the combination of those three powers, by which you in vain attempt to lift up a Colossus. But I check myself, knowing the swiftness of your *currentem calamum*, and knowing also that of epistolary altercation there is no

end, and that I have other employment more interesting, though not more pleasing, than the perusal even of your compositions.

"Your letters are so classical, and your *verba ardentia* so electrical, that they almost fire my frozen age, and tempt me to discharge upon you a sort of reciprocal lightning; and in this elegant communication of soul (for sentiment is the soul of man) I could be content to evaporate the remaining breath of life; but I have other things in hand.

"There was a period in which the Greek and Roman classics delighted me; another, in which I sought for fame in mathematical and philosophical knowledge; a third, in which chemistry, for full seven years, occupied all my attention,—and I arrogate to myself the honour, not only of recommending it to the University of Cambridge, but to the notice of the kingdom in general; a fourth, in which theology demanded my care,—not *that* theology which is degraded, disfigured, rendered hideous and portentous, by the shreds of crude opinions, by the patches of miserable superstitions,

which the knavery and audacity of intolerant and selfish men have fastened every where upon it,—but *that* which the Father of the universe has written with the hand of what is called Nature, for the information of all; and particularly *that* which He hath declared to a peculiar people, by the mouth of his Son.

"To all these objects of various pursuit, has succeeded that of agriculture. The cultivation of our mother earth is the noblest way of providing for a family; so says Bacon, and I have found it so; and it is a sure way of rendering service to the country. The county of Westmoreland will long have cause to thank the Bishop of Landaff for the example he has set, not of chaffering with peasants about the price of bullocks, but of making bad land good, of introducing new modes of husbandry, and of planting mountains.

"The parliamentary eloquence of a Cicero, unless exerted in the support of a party, will not procure an honest man a morsel of bread; it may, perchance, enable a dishonest man to sell his independence and his public probity at an high price.

"My laurels, you say, must be fed: my temples, alas! are withering with age, and it disturbs not me that the few laurels which surround them are withering also; they have been blighted for above twenty years, by *royal* or *ministerial* neglect: disdaining all further care about them, I leave them to be torn away by the ignorant and the malignant who busy themselves in my concerns. They are not his father's laurels, but his father's larches, which will make Major Watson as independent in fortune as I hope he will be in spirit.

"I was never fond of public life, though I have been compelled, on many occasions, to take a share in it; but my powers are declining, and I will not wait for a Gil Blas to tell me so.—*Quis hoc non dederit nobis, ut, cum operâ nostrâ patria sive non possit uti, sive nolit, ad eam vitam revertamur, quam multi docti homines fortasse non recte, sed tamen multi, reipublicæ præponendam putaverunt?*

"The NON POSSIT respects the will of a minister being opposed by the will of the court, if that is the case; the NOLIT respects one or both of them; and I have

ever thought it beneath me to enquire, which of them is to be blamed as my enemy.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

On the 21st of August, 1803, I received a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, informing me that the bishops would send separate addresses. The prospect of an invasion had called forth a great spirit of true patriotism, and addresses were generally presented to the King: I drew up the following, and sent it, August 22, to be signed in my diocese:—

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble Address of the Bishop, the Archdeacon and Chapter, and the Clergy of the Diocese of Landaff.

"Sire,

"As Ministers of the Gospel we pray for the peace of Christendom, and of the world; as subjects of Your Majesty, we call to mind, and with the utmost sincerity of soul we renew the obligation of the oath

of allegiance, which we have heretofore individually taken; and as men jealous of their freedom, we, on this occasion, solemnly pledge ourselves to maintain, with our best ability, the independency of our country.

"Glorious and unexampled on the surface of the earth is Your Majesty's situation! Princes there are, who reign over more extensive regions. Princes there are, who support their thrones in times of peace by more numerous armies, and who exercise over their subjects a more unlimited sway. But where is the Prince, in Europe or in the world, who, in the day of danger, sees himself protected, as Your Majesty is, by the united efforts of all his people?—by the persons of those who are able to wield a weapon—by the prayers of the aged and of the sex—by the purses of the rich—and by the hearts of all.

"We humbly implore Almighty God to bless these noble efforts of a brave, a loyal, and an enlightened nation, struggling for the safety of their King, and of his Royal house, and determined to die in the just defence of their religion, their liberty, and their country."

Did the treatment I had met with from the King deserve such an address? Did it not become me, at such a time, to write such an address? It certainly did; for I should have been ashamed of the littleness of my own mind, if I had suffered private discontent to generate in me either indifference to the public safety, or disaffection to the King. If kings form wrong judgments of the characters of any of their subjects, they are rather to be pitied than condemned for their error; they can have no interest in thinking of any man either better or worse than he deserves; but they are usually surrounded with men who may have both interest and malignant pleasure in misleading them; and it would be an excess of candour to say, that neither churchmen or laymen of that description surrounded the throne of George the Third.

On the 30th of August, I received from Lord William Gordon copies of several letters, which had recently passed between the King, the Prince of Wales, and Mr. Addington, with a permission to take copies of them. The letters had been sent to

His Lordship by the Duke of Queensberry, who thought that I might wish to see them. Though I had no acquaintance with His Grace, I acknowledged his civility in the following note, dated Calgarth Park, Sept. 2, 1803:—

"The Bishop of Landaff returns many thanks to the Duke of Queensberry for the sight of the important letters which Lord William Gordon, by His Grace's permission, has had the goodness to shew him. The Bishop has been particularly gratified by the perusal of those of the Prince of Wales, as they confirm the judgment which he had long ago formed, and always maintained, of His Royal Highness's public character,—*That he was a man occupied in trifles, because he had no opportunity of displaying his talents in the conduct of great concerns.*

"The Bishop of Landaff, being older than the King, can entertain no reasonable expectation of seeing the Prince of Wales upon the throne, but his filial piety, discretion, and magnanimity, shewn in the business of the regency, as well as on the pre-

sent occasion, are to the Bishop strong omens, that the Prince of Wales will support his future station in a manner which will bring deserved credit to himself, and consequent happiness to his people."

Continuing to be haunted with the idea of danger, not only from knowing the power and inveteracy of France, but from observing the distraction of our councils, the apathy of Europe as to the fate of Britain, and its improvidence as to its own; I wrote the following letter to Mr. Addington, the then Minister, with whom I had a slight acquaintance, Oct. 17, 1803:—

"Sir,

"You will forgive me, I hope, if I trouble you with some suggestions excited by my fears; to you alone will I acknowledge my apprehensions for the safety of the kingdom; to all other men I shall continue to hold a bolder language than my view of the circumstances of the country justifies.

"Europe is improvidently blind to its own interest; or she is so weakened as not to be able to repel the danger she foresees;

or she is so irritated against us, on account of the manner in which we have used our naval superiority, as to contemplate, with secret satisfaction, the probability of its diminution or extinction. From some cause or other she stands aloof, and leaves us to struggle singly with the storm, which threatens this country in the first instance, and the civilised world in the second.

"France and her allies (as she nicknames her conquered countries) can bring into the field four men for our one; yet our insular situation, combined with the spirit of the country, may enable us to bear up against this superiority of numbers, if this spirit is aroused to its utmost energy, and directed to its best advantage. I am not acquainted with your opinion relative to two great measures, which (were I in His Majesty's councils) I would earnestly press on the consideration of my colleagues at this critical moment. If in these points I differ, which is most probable, from yourself, as I am sensible I differ from some others whose general judgments I much esteem, I request that you would not think me actuated in mentioning them by any

other principle than the warmest attachment to the general safety. The measures I allude to are,—the repeal of the Test-Act in England,—and the making an adequate provision for the Catholic bishops and clergy in Ireland. These are measures not merely of expediency but of strict justice, and I dislike all political measures which are not bottomed on that basis.

"It has been said, in print, that the Dissenters in England constitute a fourth part of the whole community; I do not believe them to be so numerous, but they are too numerous to be treated with harshness, especially as the Established Church would not be injured, and the State would be greatly strengthened by their being treated otherwise.

"The tithes in Ireland should remain in the possession of the Protestant clergy; but a kind of co-establishment of the Catholic clergy should be admitted; for it appears to me an act of great oppression, that the Catholics, who constitute a great majority of the nation, should be compelled to maintain not only their own teachers,

but the teachers also of a small minority of the country.

"I forbear dilating on the beneficial policy of either of these measures, and I should not have presumed to mention them at all, had they not been long and impartially considered by me, and finally adopted from a strong conviction of their justice and utility. Permit me a word or two more on two other subjects.

"Excess of taxation has ruined most countries, and it will ruin this, by rendering the middle class of people indifferent to its prosperity; and they already begin every where to complain that they have less comforts now than they had forty years ago. Yet I think the whole country would willingly give up such a portion of its property as would discharge the national debt, if it could thereby be freed from those vexatious taxes of which a considerable part is lost before it reaches the Exchequer. The true principle of taxation is this,—That every man should pay for the protection of his property by the state, in exact proportion to the property protected, just

as merchants who risk their goods on board a vessel pay an insurance in proportion to the value of the goods insured. If a man who has an estate of 200*l.* a-year, pays 10*l.* a-year to Government, he pays a six-hundredth part of his whole property, supposing the estate to be worth thirty years' purchase. A man of 60*l.* a-year should on the same principle pay 3*l.*, and it is an arbitrary proceeding to maintain that a man of 60*l.* a-year is not as able (I mean with as little inconvenience to himself) to pay 3*l.* as one of 200*l.* a-year is to pay 10*l.*

"The attention of Government has been principally and properly directed to the protection of the metropolis, whilst other parts have been unavoidably left, in a manner, destitute of the means of defence. Might it not be useful to commit to the custody of the Lords-Lieutenants of counties large quantities of pikes, to be distributed out to steady men as occasion might require. Men armed with pikes might prove a strong subsidiary force to the volunteers of the country. In these parts, at least, I am confident that thousands of respectable yeomen and their sons, who are

averse from the volunteering system, would, when armed with pikes, stand forth with promptitude and courage to aid the regulars or volunteers armed with muskets, in attacking an enemy who should attempt to pass through the country.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Mr. Addington sent a liberal and complimentary answer: he concurred with me in most of the sentiments which I had expressed, but differed in opinion respecting the repeal of the Test-Act. This difference I had foreseen; but it did not deter me from maintaining my own, in a speech which I published within a month after this correspondence had taken place, and which I had intended to have delivered in the House of Lords.

None of the four great objects recommended in that speech have been adopted by Government; but I cannot esteem that neglect to be a reason why I should change my opinion of the utility and practicability of every one of them: each of them is an

important mean of public safety, and in the present circumstances they are all necessary.

There is an error in that speech respecting the question I maintained when a soph at Cambridge; for instead of differing from Grotius I agreed with him *then*: the three questions on which I kept my first act were, I find,

Primarii planetæ retinentur in orbitis suis vi gravitatis et motu projectili.

Contra crescentem potentiam, quæ nimium aucta nocere possit, non licet arma sumere.

Paterna Romanorum potestas legi naturæ repugnat.

Amongst others who honoured me with letters expressive of their opinions on various parts of my intended speech, Mr. Rose sent me one from Cuffnells, dated December 5th, 1803, to which I immediately sent the following answer:—

"Sir,

"I HAVE received your letter of the 5th

of this month, and desire to return you my best thanks for it. You have stated some difficulties relative to the ascertaining the property of individuals, which did not occur to me; but these, and others which did occur, I am of opinion might be easily obviated by an intelligent committee of the House of Commons heartily disposed to the business; and, without flattery, I dare venture to say, that they would vanish before your own investigation, if you were at leisure, and had inclination to apply your whole mind to the subject. If men, however, of your wisdom and experience think the *taxing of capital* an impracticable measure, I am not so self-sufficient, as to suppose that I may not, probably, be mistaken in thinking otherwise.

"I do not mean to enter more at large into the consideration of this or of any other political subject. I have on all occasions conscientiously endeavoured to serve my country in my public character; but I can employ my time more pleasantly, and, perhaps, you may think more usefully, than in political discussions. Trembling as I do for the fate of the country, I

have given this publication to the world as my last effort to serve the public interest: I have great reason to hope that it will be of use, and with it I shall probably close my political life.

"When in page 19, I mentioned an efficacious approximation to the measure of paying off the national debt, I had distinctly in view what has been done (and most wisely and providently, yet not sufficiently, done,) towards the discharge of it. What I principally want is to accelerate the means of doing this, being fearful lest the discontent, which is yearly increasing among all descriptions of persons, should break out into dangerous excess in a short time, or should alienate the minds of the middle class from a love to their country.

"The language every where is, (absurd no doubt in the extreme,) what have we to fight for? We have not a drop of beer to drink, nor an horse to ride, nor a window to let in light, &c.: what have we to fight for? My opinion still is, that a large demand at once, with a prospect of being thereby relieved from certain galling taxes, would be more willingly submitted to than

the present mode of fluctuating and irritating taxation.

"In this retirement I had no access to Lord Bacon's works: I made my quotation from Willymot's translation of the Essays in 1742, and it is probably not accurate. You are right in your conjecture: Bacon wrote his essays in English, and translated them into Latin, and Willymot's translation is from the Latin, but with licence I suppose.

"In acquitting me of any design to mislead the public, or to give the shadow of obstruction *at this time* to the measures of Government, you do me no more than justice; for that justice, however, I thank you, and am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

At the meeting of parliament in 1812, there prevailed a rumour that the Chancellor of the Exchequer intended proposing a tax on capital; and, on the Chancellor's disclaiming such intention, Mr. Rose declared that he had always thought such a tax to be impossible and impracticable, and that he had informed a right reverend

prelate, with whom the idea of such a tax, he believed, originated, of his opinion. Mr. Whitbread, in his reply, said, that it was very hard to refer to a person who was some hundreds of miles distant. I immediately wrote the following note to Mr. Whitbread, enclosing a long extract from my letter to Mr. Pitt in 1797 :—

"Calgarth Park, Kendal, 7th Dec. 1812.

"Sir,

"I do not suspect Mr. Rose of any design to misrepresent me ; but your reply deserves and has my best thanks.

"I trouble you with an extract of a letter to Mr. Pitt, dated April 7th, 1797, soon after the stoppage of the Bank, as containing my first sentiments on a tax on capital ; and I refer you to the second volume of Tooke's "View of the Russian Empire in 1799," (p. 515.) as a proof that such a tax is neither impossible or impracticable. I am, with high esteem,

"Your obliged servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

There may be some difficulty in taxing mercantile property ; but great accuracy

on such a business is not wanted: if a few millions of property should escape untaxed, the loss to the revenue would not be of material consequence.

I went to London in the following Spring, and seeing the miserable state in which the country was placed, partly from want of national confidence in the Minister, and partly from the persevering hostile preparations of the enemy, I made the following short speech in the House of Lords, March 27th, 1804:—

"My Lords,

"I HAVE no intention of troubling Your Lordships at great length: I have little, or to speak more properly, I have no military knowledge; but I love my country, and I cannot see it tottering on the extremest verge of destruction, without uttering a cry, however faint, without stretching out an arm, however feeble, to prevent its fall. The die, My Lords, is in the air; may God direct its fall in our favour! The die is in the air which, by its fall, will indicate the ruin of Bonaparte or of Britain;

which will indicate the consequent reduction of France within its ancient limits, or the consequent reduction of all the States of Europe under the military yoke of France. To avert this catastrophe from ourselves, requires not so much, I think, the co-operation of certain individuals, however honourable in principle, however eminent in ability, (and no one thinks of their honour or of their ability more respectably than I do,) but this co-operation is not so much required in the present circumstances of the country, as an entire, cordial, disinterested concurrence of all the talents in the empire. I am far from insinuating, My Lords, that those who may thus cooperate are influenced by any selfish views, by any ambitious prospects of place or power; no, on my conscience, I am of opinion, that their primary object is the salvation of the country. Nor, on the other hand, do I take upon me to impute to the administration, what has been so abundantly laid to their charge,—inability. I at least have no public document, no private knowledge of them, which enables me to form a proper judgment. But if

they have been guilty of some mistakes surely the novelty and unparalleled difficulty of their situation will with many, at least it will with me, plead their excuse. With respect to the Volunteer Bill now before the House, this is not the time to enter into any discussion of its several provisions; nor is it now a question to be debated, whether the volunteer system is the best possible system which could have been devised for the defence of the country: it is the system which has been adopted, and it cannot now be abandoned with safety. I own, I have always considered it as a system most noble in its principle; most difficult in its execution; and most successful, I trust it will be found, in its operation. No country in the world has ever given a stronger proof of the patriotism of its inhabitants, than the volunteers of Great Britain have given. They consist not of an indebted, discontented, miserable rabble of the country, but of men of rank, of men of letters, of men of property, of respectable yeomen, tradesmen, manufacturers, of all descriptions of reputable persons, from the peer to the peasant, from

the enlightened statesman to the political peruser of a weekly newspaper or monthly magazine. All are animated with an ardent zeal to defend their country. And why, My Lords, are they all animated with this zeal? because all know that there is not now, nor ever was a country on the globe, in which all enjoy, in their several stations, the various blessings of civilised society, so securely and so abundantly as every individual enjoys in this. This is the knowledge which has excited and carried to an unexampled height the spirit of volunteering. This spirit is not a vain, frivolous, holiday kind of spirit, delighted with military parade: it is not a sour, saucy, capricious spirit, disdaining reproof, regulation, and restraint. No, it is a manly spirit of enlightened patriotism, which is sensible that, to produce its proper effect, it stands in need of, and ought to submit to, instruction, discipline, and direction. But supposing the volunteer system to be brought by the wisdom of Your Lordships, and the other House of Parliament, united with that of His Majesty's ministers, to the utmost degree of perfection of which it is

capable, another question presents itself,—Is it sufficient for our protection? I am not able to answer this question, nor, so precarious are the events of war, is any man able to answer it with certainty; but supposing that it is not sufficient, what need is there for our despair? There are abundant resources to supply the deficiency of the volunteer system. Do you want arms? Why not put all the gunsmiths, sword-cutlers, and blacksmiths in the empire into requisition, till you have procured all the muskets, swords, and pikes, which are wanted? Do you want men? Why not call out (for I am clearly of opinion that the King has a right to call out) every man in the country, not already enrolled in its defence, and capable of bearing arms, putting into the hands of these men the arms which you shall have prepared? Do you want horses? Why not put in requisition every coach and saddle horse in the empire, to be trained and fitted for the various purposes of war? No man, on such an occasion, will grudge to transact his business on foot; Your Lordships will be proud to set the example by *walking*

down to this House ; and the sex, I speak it to their honour, will on such an occasion be content to stay at home. Do you want ships? Why not hire all the merchantmen and small craft, which can be speedily fitted for your purpose? As to large ships, let our enemies build them, and let us trust to our gallant admirals, and the tars of old England, to conduct them into the ports of Great Britain. Do you want money? Scruple not the imposition of taxes at this moment. Property is the creature of civil society; the state has a right to all individual property, if it is wanted, for the general safety; and as the money, thus raised, will circulate amongst ourselves, wealth may chance to change hands, but the nation will not be impoverished. These, or measures such as these, if brought forward with promptitude, and executed with vigour, may, when modified by parliamentary wisdom, save the country. I dread the genius, I dread the power, I dread the intrigue of the enemy, and above all, I dread the effect of that political paralysis, with which, by his arms and by his intrigues, he has deadened the acti-

vity of every cabinet on the Continent. Yet I firmly rely on the courage, and on the unanimity of this country to repel an invasion. Of this country, did I say? I certainly meant to include Ireland in my idea: the testimony which she yesterday gave us, in His Majesty's message, of her attachment to us, warmed my heart: it put to flight from my imagination the terrors excited by the apprehension of an hundred thousand Frenchmen. No personal services, no privation of luxuries, no diminution of property ought to be complained of, while we are struggling for our existence as a free people. For my own part, I had rather live upon clap-bread and water, and be shod with the wooden clogs of Westmoreland for the rest of my life, as a free subject of this limited monarchy, than be pampered with all the delicacies, cockered with all the luxuries of this luxurious town, as a slave of the French Republic."

From this speech the ministry concluded that I meant to join their party, and I was treated by them with good dinners and

great consideration, till I sent the following letter, in answer to one from Lord Hawkesbury, earnestly requesting my attendance in the House of Lords on the 30th of April:—

"Grafton Street, April 28, 1804.

"My Lord,

"THOUGH I have, on several occasions, and in various ways, endeavoured to promote the best interests of my country, yet I have ever declined becoming a party-man. Your Lordship, I hope, will forgive me if, when party unhappily runs so high, I cannot assist you farther than by not appearing in the House of Lords on Monday next.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Whilst I staid in town this year, I received a letter from Doctor Falconer of Bath, and I sent him the following answer:—

"Dear Sir,

"I HAVE always great pleasure in hear-

ing either from or of Dr. Falconer, and though I have not of late years indulged myself in many correspondences, except on such as the duties of my station required, yet I cannot leave your letter, which I received yesterday, unnoticed.

"For the last fifty years I have not been an altogether incurious spectator of the events, which have taken place in this and in other countries; but I can make no estimate of the moral merit or demerit of my countrymen, compared with their predecessors during the first half of the last century, for want of a *juxta*-position of the parties: they had their vices and their virtues, and we have ours, but, not being precisely of the same kind, their relative excellences and defects cannot be ascertained.

"Classical literature has given place to philosophical knowledge; and though we have a few men eminently skilled in the Greek and Latin languages, yet the knowledge of these languages is neither general nor deep.

"In the north of England there was, fifty years ago, a good grammar-school almost under every crag: the schools remain, but

the spirit of trade has frightened away all the muses: Cocker's Arithmetic has taken precedence of Lily's Grammar.

"Notwithstanding the virulence with which revealed religion has been attacked on the Continent and in this kingdom, I am disposed to believe, that intelligent men begin to consider Christianity not merely as an useful political machine, but as a matter in the truth of which every one is individually concerned. This consideration will produce a degree of seriousness, and, perhaps, renovate a zealous spirit; but the good sense of the age will not suffer that spirit to degenerate into a spirit of intolerance and bigotry.

"The inordinate love, however, of wealth, of distinction, of personal indulgence, which prevails among all classes, and the abominable abandonment of public probity, when it comes in competition with private interest, which prevails among the higher ranks, suggest no reasonable expectation of Christianity soon becoming the *rule of life* to the generality of our countrymen; and the enormous taxation under which we labour will, I fear, extinguish

all pure patriotism in the breasts of the middle class.

"The death of a single prince in any part of Europe, remarkable either for wisdom or folly, renders political conjectures of future contingencies so extremely uncertain, that I seldom indulge myself in forming them; yet it seems to me probable, that Europe will soon be divided among three powers, France, Austria, and Russia; and in half a century between two, France and Russia; and that America will become the greatest naval power on the globe, and be replenished by migrations of oppressed and discontented people from every part of Europe.

"I have ever acted in public concerns from my own conviction; perfectly indifferent to the ambitious struggles of political parties, except so far as they injured or assisted what I esteemed the public good; and I cannot but lament that at this moment the violence of party-spirit, excited by private views, is embarrassing the measures of Government. The dignified mode of proceeding, and a mode the present crisis required, would have been a con-

currence of all men of talents to amend the blunders (if any), and to assist the weakness (if weakness exists), of the present administration; instead of this I see a mere interested contention for their places.

"My health is tolerable; but the original disorder, which seized me twenty-four years ago, is not removed, nor can I reasonably expect that it ever will be removed. I have left my retreat in Westmoreland for two months, to see if, at this time, I could be of any use to the country; but there is no probability of the voice of independence being listened to by any of the factions.

"My spirits have never failed me; for from an early age I have looked upon life as a blessing, but not as a blessing of such a magnitude as to generate, in a Christian, any great reluctance to the parting with it; because I have no expectation of a future state, except what is founded on the truth of Christianity: I say not in the truth of all the doctrines which men have deduced from the Gospels, but I fix upon the truth of the resurrection of Christ as that corner-stone on which I build all hope

of my own; and that corner-stone is, I think, as surely posited as any fact in ancient history.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

On the 1st of July, 1804, I was surprised by the receipt of the following letter from a gentleman I had no acquaintance with.

"My Lord,

"PRESUMING from Your Lordship's attachment to chemistry, that the enquiry contained in the accompanying volume, may obtain a cursory examination from Your Lordship, I have presumed to present it as a tribute due to the author of those essays, which first attracted my attention earnestly to chemistry.

"I am, My Lord, with sincere respect, Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

"J. PARKINSON."

"Hoxton Square, July 1, 1804."

On the 28th of July, 1804, I sent the subjoined answer:

"Sir,

"I RECEIVED the day before yesterday your most acceptable present of your interesting work on the organic remains of a former world.

"I have read with peculiar satisfaction one half of it, having never met with so large an assemblage of facts, nor such probable conjectures on such a dark subject. Accept my best thanks for this instance of your attention to me; but I must not permit you, as you proceed in your work, to make me any future present, as I shall eagerly purchase the future volumes.

"I hope, before I get to the end of your work, to meet with some animadversions on a position of Linnæus, which, if established, subverts your whole system. It occurs in *Systema Naturæ*, vol. iii. p. 5. *Cataclysmi universalis certa rudera ego nondum attigi quousque penetravi.*

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

An act of Parliament, introduced by Lord Ellenborough, was passed in this

session, making it illegal to ordain any person a deacon before he had obtained the full age of twenty-three years. I had no objection to this act, as fixing a definite time before which orders should not be conferred. Men, indeed, differ from each other so much in genius, ability, and disposition, that it may frequently happen that one man at the age of twenty may be as fit to become a deacon as another at the age of twenty-three; and it might thence be argued, that the time of taking orders ought to be left to the discretion of the bishop conferring them, rather than be fixed to any particular period. Father Paul was ordained a priest at twenty-two years of age; and Archbishop Usher was ordained both deacon and priest before the age prescribed by the canons; and other eminent men have met with similar indulgence: yet the leaving matters, which may be settled by law, to men's discretion, (how properly soever that discretion may in particular instances be exerted,) is in general a bad principle in legislation.

But though I did not object to the act

on account of its fixing a time before which a man could not be legally ordained a deacon, I thought it was highly objectionable on another account.

Between thirty and forty years ago, I had been much engaged in the tuition of youth in the University of Cambridge; and frequently observed the great difficulty with which clergymen with small incomes, farmers, tradesmen, and others, in slender circumstances, sustained the expense of their sons' education; and I was sensible that it was from such sort of families that the church was principally supplied with parochial ministers. Since that time the expense of an University-education has been much increased, and this increase must of natural consequence reduce the numbers sent thither for the clerical profession, and render a supply of ministers from some other quarter necessary. To prevent this, many of the bishops have formed a resolution, not to ordain any one who has not taken a degree in one of our Universities. I cannot approve of this resolution, for two reasons:—First, I think

it illiberal in the bishops to refuse conferring orders because a man has not been educated at Cambridge or Oxford: their duty in that matter consists in examining whether a man has a sufficient portion of learning, rather than in asking where he acquired it; since Warburton, and many other eminent men, not being graduates, would on their principle have never been introduced into the church. In the second place, it may be observed, that if all the bishops acted on this principle, many churches in several dioceses would be destitute of ministers.

Seeing the church in danger of becoming less respectable, as to its ministers, from the increase of the expense of an University-education, I thought it might be a relief to parents, and an inducement to them to send their sons to the University, if young men were permitted to go into deacon's orders at two, rather than at three-and-twenty years of age. I mentioned this to several of the bishops, and they all seemed to concur with me in opinion. A few days afterwards I went down to the

House of Lords, and shewed to Lord Ellenborough the following clause, which I wished might be introduced into his bill:—*That no person who had taken a degree in arts or in law, in any of the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, or Dublin, should be ordained a deacon before he had attained the full age of twenty-two years; and that no other literate person should be ordained a deacon before he was twenty-three years of age.* I not only found Lord Ellenborough stiff in his own opinion, that his bill should not be altered; but that he had changed the sentiments of some of the bishops; so that, foreseeing the probable rejection of the clause, and dreading the indecorum of the bench being divided on such a point, I forbore making the motion I had intended.

I retained, however, my opinion, that every encouragement ought to be held out to parents to send their children, destined for the ministry, to the Universities; and that the distinction in favour of the Universities, which I proposed in the clause, is highly proper; for, with all their defects, our Universities are the best seminaries of

education in Europe. We hear, indeed, in every company, much blame thrown on the Universities, on account of the increase of the expense of education in them; but the blame is not fairly imputable to them, since the expenses of tuition, rooms, commons, college-servants, &c., are much the same now that they were forty years ago. It is impossible for the Universities effectually to oppose the torrent of luxury and dissipation; which, in spreading itself through all classes, has every where broken down the ancient fences of frugality and simplicity of manners; and which, unless it be checked, will indubitably bring on the ruin of the country. How applicable to ourselves (since our territorial acquisitions in India) is the observation of Livy, foreseeing and lamenting the fate of Rome,—"*Nuper divitiæ avaritiam, et abundantes voluptates desiderium, per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia, invexere!*"

I this year preached and published a sermon for the Society established for the *Suppression of Vice.* An hint given in that sermon, the same which I had given before

in 1791, in a sermon preached for the Philanthropic Society, has been carried into execution, by the establishment, in 1805, of a new institution, called *The Refuge for the Destitute,* under the presidency of the Duke of York.

The Duke of Orleans and his two brothers had honoured me with a visit of a few days at my house in Westmoreland; and I was so much pleased with their conversation, and sympathised so sincerely with them in the misfortunes which had befallen their house, that I could not forbear sending the following letter to the Duke of Orleans on the murder of his relation the Duc D'Enghien:—

"Calgarth Park, July 20, 1804.

"Sir,

"I HAVE no wish to draw your Highness into a correspondence with an obscure bishop, but I have a wish to testify to you the supreme satisfaction I have received from the perusal of the *Discours Funèbre* pronounced at the obsequies of the Duc

D'Enghein, and to join my regrets to those of the civilised world. It is a matchless piece of eloquence: the occasion makes the heart of the reader feel, with poignant sympathy, the expressions of the orator: I would not be possessed of that man's soul, who can read it without tears.

"God, in his inscrutable providence, rules the world: Catholics and Protestants believe this; and if they are wise, they will believe also that afflictions are designed for, and do in fact produce the melioration of mankind. A prince may lose a throne, but if the loss makes him submit with resignation to the Divine dispensation, he will gain something better than a throne—he will make God his friend.

"If ever this usurpation should be overthrown, and regal government be re-established in France, I please myself with the expectation that the noble conduct of England, shewn in this day of calamity, will be everlastingly remembered; and that the two greatest and most enlightened nations in Europe will, by the union of their councils, preserve the peace of Christendom;

and by their abhorrence of religious domination, extinguish the bigotry which has, for so many ages, disfigured the fair form of genuine Christianity.

"I met the Duc de Montpensier in London, and desired him to present to you my best respects; that I did not do it in person I beg you to attribute to my little knowledge of, and less regard for etiquette; and this defect you will have the goodness to excuse in an old man, who feels an activity on great, but none on ceremonious occasions, and to allow me the honour of assuring Your Highness of the sincerity with which I am

"Your faithful servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

The Duke of Orleans, if he ever reads this, will pardon my printing his answer to my letter: I am certain that it will do him honour wherever it is read; and I beg him to consider the publication of it as a posthumous token of my respect and good-will.

AHARAJA SERFOGI'S S

Letter from the Duke of Orleans, dated Twickenham, July 28th, 1804.

"My dear Lord,

"I am extremely obliged to Your Lordship for your kind letter. I regretted that I had not the pleasure of seeing you whilst you were in town. The moment I heard you were there, I went to Great George-Street very early to be certain of finding you at home, but I was informed you had removed, and I could get no other direction but that it was somewhere in Albemarle-street or Conduit-street, they knew not which, and as to a number, that was not to be thought of. Still, had I been a resident in town, I had certainly found you out: but I have been very little in town last winter, and never had a house, or even apartments; I remained here in great retirement, of which I grow more fond every day of my life.

"I was certain Your Lordship's elevated soul had resented, with becoming indignation, the foul murder of my unfortunate cousin. His mother being my aunt, he was, next to my brothers, the nearest rela-

tion I had; and, as he was only a year older than me, we had been play-fellows during our younger years, you must feel it was a sad blow to me. His fate is an awful warning to every one of us, that the Corsican usurper will never rest until he has erased the whole of our family from the list of the living. It makes me feel still more forcibly than I did before (though it is scarcely possible) the blessing of the generous protection and support granted unto us by your magnanimous country. I have left my native country at so early a period, that I have not much of the habits of a Frenchman, and I may say with perfect candour that I am attached to England, not only by gratitude but by inclination and habit. It is in the sincerity of my heart that I say, May I never leave that hospitable land!

"But it is not only on account of my own feelings that I am so strongly interested in the welfare, prosperity, and successes of England, it is also as a man. The safety of Europe, that of the world, and the future happiness and independence of

mankind, rests upon the preservation and independence of England, and this is the noble cause of Bonaparte's rage against you, and of that of his gang. May God defeat his wicked plans, and maintain this country in its present glorious and happy situation, is the true wish of my heart and of my most fervent prayer!

"Your Lordship must be equally well acquainted with my opinion respecting religious differences amongst Christians; and in other words, amongst men who profess the same religion. I believe every man must remain true to the principles in which he was brought up; but I equally believe it is not, in such times as these we live in, that such differences can be a real cause of difference among Christians. The question is not, whether one is a Christian of this or that sect, but whether he is a Christian or not?

"This, in my humble opinion, is the only question, at a time when the vital parts of religion and morality are attacked with such force; and where the melancholy experience of the latter years shews, with

what rapidity irreligion and immorality are spreading their baneful dominion over mankind.

"From the knowledge I have acquired of Your Lordship's great mind, I thought your opinion should be what I am very glad to find it is. I hope you will allow me to say, that I congratulate you upon sentiments so worthy at once of an English prelate, and a true Christian.

"Would you be so good as to remember me most kindly to Mrs. and the Miss Watsons, and believe me, with the highest and most sincere esteem and regard,

"My dear Lord, ever your affectionate

"L. P. P. Orleans."

"P. S.—I am particularly requested by both my brothers to present you their compliments, as well as to all your family. They went likewise in search of you in town; and all of us will ever retain, and myself most particularly, a most pleasant recollection of the short but agreeable days we spent at Calgarth."

The fall of the French monarchy, the

imprisonments, confiscations, proscriptions, murders, butcheries, which attended its overthrow, and the despicable tyranny which has succeeded it, are important events for the consideration of princes and of their subjects. They instruct princes to use despotic power with moderation; and indeed to reflect, whether despotism is at all suited to the government of such an enlightened people as now inhabit Europe; they teach them also to beware of burdening their subjects with excessive taxation, in support of unnecessary wars, or of the luxury and prodigality of their courts. They instruct subjects, (I do not say to submit to the extreme oppression of their rulers,) but to bear with long and patient endurance small evils, lest in attempting to get rid of them, they should be overwhelmed by greater. Seasonable reforms may be accomplished without danger; but a resistance to reformation usually ends in a revolution.

In October, 1804, a German treatise in Divinity, by Anastatius Freylinghausen, was published in English, with great parade,

by order of Her Majesty, and supervised by the Bishop of London. The Duke of Grafton offered to forward it to me: I sent the following letter to His Grace: —

"Calgarth, 23d Oct. 1804.

"My dear Lord Duke,

"THOUGH a letter from me passed, on the road, that which I have had the honour to receive from Your Grace, dated Oct. 9th, yet I think it right for me to trouble you with my acknowledgments for your kind offer of sending me the German Theology; and to say, that I will not trouble you to do it, for I have already seen it, and perused as much of it as I probably shall ever do; for at my time of life I have not my religion to learn from a Lutheran divine.

"Mr. Freylinghausen was, I question not, a learned and orthodox divine, but he appears to me to have been a very poor metaphysician. He staggered me in his first page, by speaking of our natural knowledge of God as being *implanted* in us, notwithstanding all that Mr. Locke had said upon the subject in the first book of his

Essay on the Human Understanding; and he hobbles, in the second and several succeeding pages, in such a manner, as no one who had distinct notions of metaphysical reasoning, concerning the existence of God and his attributes, could, I think, have possibly done.

"All that kind of discussion has been more clearly and more deeply handled by Clarke, Locke, Whitby, Abernethy, Knight, &c. than by this German. The book is systematical, and on that account may be of use as an elementary book; but I have not the same notion of the utility of elementary books in theology which many persons entertain. Elementary books in geometry, algebra, &c. exhibit to us an indissoluble concatenation of intuitive or demonstrated truths; but elementary books in theology give us a concatenation, perhaps, but it is more frequently a concatenation of conjectures than of truths.

"Let any man fill his head with a persuasion, that he understands what is meant by the *Image of God;* that Adam had *Original Righteousness;* that he was a *Fœderal Head,* &c., and it will not be easy to enu-

merate the series of truths (conjectures they ought to be called, and absolute errors they may be) which will follow as legitimate corollaries, from such assumed principles.

"What are the catechisms of the Romish church, of the English church, of the Scotch church, and of all other churches, but a set of propositions which men of different natural capacities, educations, prejudices, have fabricated (sometimes on the anvil of sincerity, oftener on that of ignorance, interest, or hypocrisy,) from the divine materials furnished by the Bible? And can any man of an enlarged charity believe, that his salvation will ultimately depend on a concurrence in opinion with any of these niceties, which the several sects of Christians have assumed as essentially necessary for a Christian man's belief? Oh, no! Christianity is not a speculative business. One good act performed from a principle of obedience to the declared will of God, will be of more service to every individual, than all the speculative theology of St. Augustin, or Anastatius Freylinghausen.

"I do not mean to speak disrespectfully of this book, though it contains many posi-

tions which I do not approve, esteeming them unfounded in Scripture; yet it is possible enough that I, and not the author of it, may be in an error. Your Grace may have more patience in perusing it than I have had. It is very dogmatical; and refers to texts of Scripture which, abstracted from their context, often prove nothing. All the subjects it treats of have been handled with great precision by Curcellæus, Turretin, Episcopius, Limborch, and a great many other foreign divines; and very distinctly, though not systematically, by our own. This want of system in our writers may have given this German book a great estimation in the judgment of Her Majesty, in preference to those of our own country, which it cannot be expected she should be much acquainted with. But enough of this matter.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

My old friend, Mr. Tyrwhitt, of Jesus College, Cambridge, sent (for my perusal) a Sermon which he had preached in St. Mary's Church, and which he afterwards

published, designed to prove that the baptismal form (Matt. xxviii. 19.) contained no doctrine in support of the Trinity. I returned the subjoined answer:—

"Calgarth Park, Aug. 29, 1804.

"I RETURN you, my dear Sir, your most valuable manuscript, with my best thanks for your having allowed me the perusal of it. No person can be offended by the manner in which you have handled an important passage of Scripture, and the minds of many will be enlightened by your argumentation. Vitringa has a learned Dissertation on what was understood by the Jews, by the phrase of being baptized in the name of any one. The true meaning of that phrase in the baptismal form must, I think, be determined by the import it had in the ears of our Lord's auditors, yet I am not satisfied with Vitringa's observations.

"I am disposed to accede to your remark, that whatever doctrine is not contained in the form prescribed by Christ for receiving disciples by baptism into his church, cannot be necessary to be believed

by Christians; and you have excited a reasonable doubt, whether the doctrine of the Trinity be positively contained in the baptismal form. Yet I must own, that it sticks with me, that as the *Father* and the *Son* are *persons*, how the *Holy Ghost* can be otherwise conceived than as a *person*, in that form.

"Were I at Cambridge, I should be happy to discuss this, and some other points of your judicious discourse, in charming conference with yourself. I am certain, that whether we agreed or not in opinion on every point, we should agree in thinking, that free discussion was the best mean of investigating truth.

"I rejoice in your quotation from Locke. That great man has done more for the enlargement of the human faculties, and for the establishment of pure Christianity, than any author I am acquainted with. Accept the thanks and best wishes of

"Your's sincerely,

"R. LANDAFF.'

Having heard that a controversy was carrying on between the Bishop of Oxford

and Mr. Marsh, of St. John's College, Cambridge, I desired a friend to send me their several publications, and wrote to him the following letter:—

"Calgarth Park, Oct. 17, 1804.

"Dear Sir,

"I RECEIVED from Cadell, the day before yesterday, the pamphlets which I had desired you to order for me, and I send you my thanks for the trouble you have had. I had read some of them when they were first published, and have now perused them all with attention, and am thankful to both the gentlemen for the information they have afforded me, without presuming to give any opinion on the point in dispute between them, or on the relative accuracy of their logic in argumentation.

"I rejoice that Cambridge can boast of having so great a Biblical scholar, and so liberal a divine, as Mr. Marsh has long shown himself to be, and have no doubt of the high estimation in which he will be held by that enlightened body.

"I sincerely hope that the publishing his Hypothesis will be in *no place* an impedi-

ment to him in the way of his preferment; but I am not ignorant that all men will not see this hypothesis in the same light in which it appears to me. I consider it as an attempt to remove from the Gospels many difficulties. Those who shall consider it as founded in fact (though the fact cannot now be proved by testimony) will be thankful for it: those who shall consider it as having no foundation in fact, will not be injured by it, since it leaves them as they were.

"In the first rule of philosophising, laid down by Newton, it is said,—More causes of natural things are not to be admitted than are both true and sufficient for explaining their phænomena. The Vortices of Des Cartes may, in the opinion of many, be sufficient for explaining the planetary motions, and the pre-established harmony of Leibnitz may be sufficient for explaining the phænomena of what are called voluntary motions; but these causes not being true, having no existence except in the imaginations of their authors, are not to be admitted as the true causes of the planetary and voluntary motions, though sufficient

for explaining their phænomena. If this rule of philosophising can be applied to the case in point (which, perhaps, it cannot) does it not show, that a sufficiency to explain the phænomena of the verbal harmony in the Gospels does not absolutely prove the hypothesis, or rather does not prove the fact of there ever having been the public document in question?

"On the other hand it may be said, Dr. Long, in speaking of the correspondence between the appearances of the heavenly bodies and the position of them assumed by Copernicus, expresses himself in the following terms:—"This exact correspondence of the *phænomena* with the *hypothesis*, is alone so strong an argument in favour of the truth of it, that we might very well acquiesce in it." If this reasoning may be allowed to Dr. Long, why may it not be allowed to Mr. Marsh? His hypothesis has an exact correspondence with certain phænomena of verbal harmony discovered by him in the Gospels; is not this correspondence alone so strong an argument in favour of the truth of the hypothesis that we may well acquiesce in it?

"I make not these remarks with any intention of entering into the discussion of the question, but merely to show you that I respect Mr. Marsh's publications too highly to give them only a slight consideration.

"I wish the controversy to rest where it does, though I applaud Mr. Marsh's courage in professing his readiness to continue the combat, and am persuaded that, if he is obliged to strike a last blow, it will be a clincher.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

When we want to open a lock, and after having tried, to no purpose, a number of keys, we hit upon one which opens it with facility, we conclude that we have met with the right key. In like manner when any phænomenon in nature is to be explained, such, for instance, as the aberration of the fixed stars, and we find that the hypothesis of the progressive motion of light, combined with that of the annual motion of the earth in its orbit, will completely solve that wonderful appearance, we rightly conclude

that light is progressive; or when we find that the colours, figure, position, and all the other appearances of the primary and secondary rainbows, can be solved from the different refrangibility of the rays of light passing through globular drops of rain, we rightly conclude that the rays of light are differently refrangible, and the drops of rain globular: why may we not argue in the same manner on other subjects? The verbal harmonies observable in the Gospels may be solved, by admitting that the four Evangelists transcribed some parts of the Gospels from a common document; may not the solution of the phænomena, as Mr. Marsh calls them, of the verbal harmonies, by the hypothesis of such a document, be admitted as a proof that such a document did once exist?

In January, 1805, the Duke of Grafton informed me by letter, that it was not expected the Archbishop of Canterbury could live many weeks. I had no expectation of an archbishopric, for the Duke of Clarence had once said to me, (speaking in conversation, no doubt, the language of the court,)

" They will never make *you* an archbishop: they are afraid of you."

I had no expectation, indeed, of any thing being offered me, for I knew that I possessed none of the principles, essential to the success of candidates for promotion, ecclesiastical or civil. Partisans in parliament, Tories in government, bigots in religion, these are the men who thrive in all corrupted states, and by thriving accelerate the ruin of free constitutions. I wrote, on the occasion, to the Duke of Grafton, the annexed letter.

" Calgarth, Jan. 5, 1805.

" My dear Lord Duke,

" I AM much obliged to Your Grace for your intelligence relative to the state of the Archbishop's health: it is of a piece with your uniform kindness to me and attention to my interest. Whenever the event takes place, some suitable opening may, probably, be made for my application, but I am determined to make no application. I have been insulted by the neglect of ministers, and perhaps misrepresented by them

to His Majesty, but I will not disgrace myself by the servility of repeating my wishes, or re-urging my pretensions; though I should think it a duty I owe to the University, not to refuse any offer by which I should not be a loser in resigning my professorship.

"If I know myself, my mind has, through life, been free from avarice and ambition; except the avarice of making a moderate provision for a large family; except the ambition of being well esteemed by the wise and virtuous part of mankind.

"The prospect of acquiring wealth and distinction is a proper incentive to virtuous exertion; and when these are bestowed as rewards of personal desert, he must be more insensible than a Stoic who does not rejoice in the possession of them; but when they cannot be procured except by intrigue, adulation, loss of character, and prostitution of principle, to me they become not only worthless, but abominable objects of pursuit.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S

My daughter Elizabeth wrote to me in March, 1805, at the request of Miss Dutton, who wished to consult me on a point of some delicacy. The Russian Prince, Bariatinski, was paying his addresses to her: she had some scruples, and her mother, Lady Sherborne, had more, respecting the propriety of her entering into a matrimonial connexion with a person of the Greek church. I had no knowledge of either Miss Dutton or of her parents; but being thus called upon, I sent the following letter to my daughter to be communicated to the young lady.

"Calgarth Park, March 27, 1805.

"My dear Elizabeth,

"In answering Miss Dutton's enquiry, I shall certainly do it with sincerity, but my opinions on any subject though sincere are not infallible: I must act in conformity to them myself, but I am far from wishing any person to rely on them.

"The Christian religion is wholly comprised in the New Testament, but men have interpreted that book in various ways, and hence have sprung up a great variety

of Christian churches. I scruple not giving the name of Christian churches to assemblies of men uniting together for public worship; though they may differ somewhat from each other in doctrine and in discipline, whilst they all agree in the fundamental principle of the Christian religion—that Jesus is the Christ, the Saviour of the world.

"In this the Greek, the Latin, and all the reformed churches have one and the same faith. They all believe, too, that Christ rose from the dead—that there will be a resurrection of all men—that there will be a future state, in which all men will be rewarded or punished according to their works done in this. These are some of the chief points in which all churches agree: they disagree in matters of less importance; and each church esteeming itself the true church, is apt to impute not merely error, but crime to every other. This imputation I think extremely wrong—it is judging another man's servant—it is assuming dominion over another man's faith—it is having too high an opinion of our own wisdom—it is presuming that we are rendering

God service, when it may be that we are merely supporting our own prejudices, flattering our own self-sufficiency, and paying homage to intellectual pride.

"I do not indeed agree with those who esteem it a matter of indifference what religion a man adopts provided his life be good; yet I must think that this indifference is less exceptionable than that want of charity for those who dissent from our particular faith, which too frequently occupies the minds of well-meaning zealots in every church.

"The doctrines of every church are best known from its public creed, because that is supposed to be a compendium of articles of faith adapted to general use.

"The Russian Greek church does not use in its public service what is commonly called the *Apostles' Creed;* nor what is improperly called the *Athanasian Creed;* but simply that which we use in our communion service, which is usually denominated the *Nicene Creed;* though it is not, in every point, precisely that which was composed at the Council of Nice, in Bithynia, in the year 325. I do not presume to blame

the Russian church for the exclusive use of the Nicene creed in its public service, especially as it does not prohibit the private use of the other two. Nor do I blame it for differing from the Romish church in one article of this creed, respecting the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father alone; though all the reformed churches agree with the church of Rome in maintaining the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, notwithstanding its being well known that the words—*And the Son,* were only added by a pope in the tenth century, without the authority of a council. The doctrine may be true, but not being a part of what was established at the Council of Nice, it is not admitted by the Greek church.

"The Russian church differs from the Romish church, in not acknowledging a purgatory; in not denying the sacramental cup to the laity; in allowing their priests to marry; in explaining transubstantiation in a mystical manner; in not invocating saints and the Virgin Mary as mediators; acknowledging Jesus Christ as the only Mediator; and in many other points. In

those, and in other particulars, the Greek church seems to have a leaning to the principles of Protestantism rather than of Popery.

"On no occasion ought we to act in opposition to our conscience, but it does not follow, that in obeying the dictates of conscience we always act rightly; for there is such a thing as an erroneous conscience, and we may not be able to detect the error. I knew a gentleman who had been brought up at Eton and at Cambridge, who from being a Protestant became a Roman Catholic. This gentleman examined the foundation of both religions, and finally settled on that of the church of Rome. He acted properly in following the impulse of his judgment. I think he formed an erroneous judgment, but that is only my opinion, in opposition to his opinion; and even admitting my opinion to be right, it would be uncharitable in me to condemn him; for God only knows whether, with his talents and constitutional turn of mind, he could have escaped the error into which he had fallen. With a similar degree of moderation, therefore, I think of the

different sects of Christians. Every sect believes itself to be right, but it does not become any of them to say,—I am more righteous than my neighbour, or to think that the gates of Heaven are shut against all others.

"Miss Dutton, I think, will easily collect from what I have written, my opinion; that if, in every other respect, the match meets with her approbation and that of her parents, it need not be declined from any apprehension of the children's salvation being risked by being educated in the Greek church; especially as, when they arrive at mature age, they will be at liberty to examine and judge for themselves which, of all the Christian churches, is most suitable to the Gospel of Christ.

"I received your letter only yesterday evening, but as you wished for a speedy answer, I have hastened to oblige you,

"And am ever,

"Your most affectionate father,

"R. Landaff."

Miss Dutton was soon after married to

Prince Bariatinski, and they enjoyed much happiness together, till the Princess died in childbed at Altona, in March, 1807.

In May, 1805, the Petition of the Roman Catholics in Ireland was taken into consideration by both Houses of Parliament, and rejected by great majorities in them both. Being a sincere friend to the general principle of the petition, I sent, six weeks before its introduction into parliament, the following letter to the then minister, Mr. Pitt:—

"Calgarth Park, April 1, 1805.

"My dear Sir,

"I APPROVE of the purport of the Catholic Petition, and think that there would be both *justice* and *expediency* in granting it, but I do not approve of its being presented and pressed at this time.

"I respect the conscience of the King, and lament that in his state of health any thing should disturb his mind. My humanity will not permit me to support a measure, not necessarily called for, which

may, probably, bring on him the greatest affliction to which human nature can be exposed.

"When I say, that I respect the conscience of the King, I do not mean to say that I think it is rightly formed; but I applaud his integrity in adhering to it whilst he believes that it is so. I think that it is not rightly formed, because I see no danger occurring to the church of England from Catholic emancipation, either in Great Britain or Ireland.

"As to His Majesty's scruple respecting his Coronation Oath, (though it does him great honour to attend to it,) in my opinion it is not well founded. The Coronation Oath is the confirmation of a promise made by the King to his people; the obligation of the promise ceases, and the oath is relaxed, when the people by the two Houses of Parliament declare, that they do not, in a certain point, require the performance of it.

"If it is the intention of Government absolutely to *reject* the principle of the petition I will give no proxy; but if it is their intention to defer the consideration of it

only till His Majesty's health be better established, or his conscientious scruples removed, I am ready to give you my little support.

"I am, &c.

"R. L."

About the same time I sent the subjoined letter to the Duke of Grafton in answer to one of his, expressing a wish to know my sentiments on the Catholic Question:—

"My dear Lord Duke,

"The Catholic Question is a subject on which I formerly bestowed some attention; but foreseeing that I might not have an opportunity of publicly delivering an opinion, I was not anxious to make up my mind upon it. I have however resumed the consideration of it, and the result of my most serious thoughts is,—that the purport of the petition ought to be granted, but that it ought not at this time to be pressed upon the King.

"I am perfectly sensible, that the suspicion of the King's dislike of a measure is no constitutional reason, why it ought not

to be submitted to the judgment of parliament; but the state of the King's health is, to me at least it is, a reason why no measure, not immediately necessary for the salvation of the country, should be introduced, which may probably bring on an old man the greatest calamity which can befall human kind. If I were in town I would not vote against the petition, but I certainly would vote to put off the consideration of it.

"It is certainly not unsuitable either to your age or rank to take a part in the debate, if you find your spirits equal to the task, and I will put down, *according to your desire,* though I think it quite unnecessary to do it, a few heads on which you may properly enlarge.

"1. The absolute justice of tolerating religious opinions, since no civil government can justly possess more power over its subjects than what individuals have *consented* to transfer to it when they entered into society; and no individual can give up the right of worshipping God according to his conscience, and therefore no government can justly abridge that right.

" 2. No civil government has any right to take cognisance of opinions either political or religious, but merely of men's actions. This principle, however, is liable to exception with respect to the public teachers of religion; and the Belgic princes in 1730 availed themselves of this distinction, when they decreed, that no Catholic priest should enter on his office till he had abjured the opinion of the Pope's right of absolving subjects from their allegiance to the magistrate, and promised that he would teach a contrary opinion to the people.

" 3. The established religion of every country ought to be the religion of the majority of the people; unless an exception be admitted, when the minority of the inhabitants possesses a majority of the property by which the establishment is maintained; and even in that case, humanity and policy, if not strict justice, require a co-establishment of the religion of the minority.

" 4. Great credit ought to be given to men of probity and talents, disclaiming, in express terms, the most obnoxious principles of the church of Rome: the odium of

past transactions ought not to be thrown upon those who had no concern in them.

"5. Constitutionally speaking, the Catholic Peers and Commoners have no more right to sit in parliament than a Catholic king has to sit upon the throne; and if the change of times is not yet such, that a Protestant would endure the thought of a Catholic king upon the throne, it may be enquired, upon what principle it is that a Protestant can endure the thought of a Catholic legislator. The principle may be the little comparative influence of a Catholic legislator, and his abjuration of temporal tenets formerly professed by Catholics.

"6. The progress of science has subdued the bigotry formerly too apparent not only in the church of Rome, but in all the reformed churches; and it will never be able, till a state of ignorance and barbarism recurs, to rear up its head again. There is no probability of intolerance and superstition ever more pervading Europe; and the Catholic religion will daily continue to derive light from the labour of learning. The learned Catholics are beginning every where to soften the asperities of their reli-

gious tenets, and to apologise for what they cannot excuse. The Irish gentry partake of the general illumination of the age; and the peasantry will imitate the example of their superiors.

"7. It may be said that the *church* of Rome has not formally renounced any of the doctrines maintained at the Council of Trent, and that the *court* of Rome has not abandoned any of its pretensions to temporal dominion; yet Catholic, as well as Protestant states, have every where spurned these pretensions; and something very like a formal renunciation of one of the most dangerous tenets of that Church took place in Russia more than twenty years ago. The Empress Catharine gave permission to the Roman Catholics in her dominions openly to exercise their religion, and to have bishops of their own persuasion for the government of their Church. She was present at the consecration of the first Catholic Archbishop. When the ceremony had proceeded to the administration of the oath usually taken by the Bishops of that Church, the Archbishop (that was to be) refused to repeat the clause,—*Hæreticos*

schismaticos et rebelles Domino nostro Papæ pro posse persequar et impugnabo.

"On this refusal, the ceremony was ended, fresh instructions were required from Rome, and the then Pope ordered the clause to be omitted; and it has since been omitted, by the authority of the Pope, in the oath taken by the Irish bishops.

"I will not trouble Your Grace with further remarks: the subject is infinite; and I dare say you will have speeches of some hours in length. My great objection to the church of Rome is its uncharitable principle of the insalvability of persons out of its pale; for this principle produces a persecuting principle, and I must ever detest every species of persecution. I cannot however believe, that Catholic emancipation will tend to the increase of the number of Catholics, either in Ireland or England; on the contrary, I think the number would, by such a measure, be lessened.

"Nothing unites men so much as any degree of persecution. Individuals, otherwise of no consequence, either from talents or fortune, become conspicuous, and acquire a degree of weight when connected

with a party. Men claim merit from what they call their sufferings, who would have no ground for claiming it on any other species of desert.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Notwithstanding the decision of the two Houses of Parliament, and notwithstanding there was not a single bishop who voted for the Petition, I was willing that my opinion on the question should be publicly known; and on visiting my diocese, in June, 1805, I took a comprehensive view of the subject in a long Charge, which was published in 1808, on a second rejection of the Petition by both Houses of Parliament, with the following Advertisement prefixed to it:—

"Advertisement.

"A numerous and respectable part of the clergy of my diocese requested me, at the time it was delivered, to publish the Charge which is now submitted to the world. I excused myself from complying with their request, because I considered the Catholic question to have been then settled,

at least for a time; and I was unwilling to revive the discussion of a subject, on which I had the misfortune to differ in opinion from a majority in each House of Parliament. I have still had that misfortune; but, looking upon the situation of the empire to be abundantly more hazardous now than it was three years ago, I have thought it a duty to declare publicly my approbation of a measure,—calculated, I sincerely believe, above all other measures, to support the independence of the country, to secure the stability of the throne, to promote peace among fellow-subjects, and charity among fellow-Christians, and in no probable degree dangerous to the constitution, either in church or state.

"R. L."

"Calgarth Park, June 1, 1808.

Mr. Davies, curate of Olveston in Gloucestershire, had published, in 1804, a learned work, entitled "*Celtic Researches:*" I had no personal knowledge of him, but on the 27th of April, 1805, I sent him the following letter:

"Reverend Sir,

"The living of Bishopston, near Swansea, in the diocese of St. David's, but in my patronage, is now vacant: I am told that it is worth from 120*l.* to 140*l.* a-year. I think it my duty to fix there a resident clergyman; and if, under that condition, it be worth the acceptance of the author of the Celtic Researches, I shall be happy in thinking that my poor patronage has enabled me to show the sense I entertain of his merits.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

On the marriage of my son, in August, 1805, I wrote to the Duke of York, requesting His Royal Highness to give him his protection. I felt a consciousness of having, through life, cherished a warm attachment to the house of Brunswick, and to those principles which had placed it on the throne, and of having on all occasions acted an independent and honourable part towards the government of the country, and I therefore thought myself justified in concluding my letter in the following

terms:—"I know not in what estimation Your Royal Highness may hold my repeated endeavours, in moments of danger, to support the religion and the constitution of the country; but if I am fortunate enough to have any merit with you on that score, I earnestly request your protection for my son. I am a bad courtier, and know little of the manner of soliciting favours through the intervention of others, but I feel that I shall never know how to forget them, when done to myself; and, under that consciousness, I beg leave to subscribe myself

"Your Royal Highness's

"Most grateful servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

I received a very obliging answer by the return of the post, and in about two months my son was promoted, without purchase, from a Majority, to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the Third Dragoon Guards.

After having experienced, for above twenty-four years, the neglect of His Majesty's ministers, I received great satisfac-

tion from this attention of his son, and shall carry with me to my grave a most grateful memory of his goodness. I could not at the time forbear expressing my acknowledgement in the following letter, nor can I now forbear inserting it in these anecdotes. The whole transaction will do His Royal Highness no discredit with posterity, and I shall ever consider it as an honourable testimony of his approbation of my public conduct.

"Calgarth Park, Nov. 9, 1805.

—— "Do My Lord of Canterbury
But one good turn, and he's your friend for ever."

"THUS Shakspeare makes Henry VIII. speak of Cranmer; and from the bottom of my heart, I humbly intreat Your Royal Highness to believe, that the sentiment is as applicable to the Bishop of Landaff as it was to Cranmer.

"The *bis dat qui cito dat* has been most kindly thought of in this promotion of my son; and I know not which is most dear to my feelings, the matter of the obligation, or the noble manner of its being conferred.

I sincerely hope Your Royal Highness will pardon this my intrusion, in thus expressing my most grateful acknowledgements for them both.

"R. LANDAFF."

Letter to Lord Euston, in Answer to one of his, consulting me on the education of his Son, Lord Ipswich, on his leaving Harrow, and going to Dr. Maltby.

"My dear Lord,

"HAVING taken sufficient time to consider your letter with my best attention, I now sit down to answer it. I begin with congratulating yourself on the proper sense you entertain of your own duty respecting the education of your son. The virtuous education of our offspring, and especially of an offspring which by its rank may influence the morals of a country, is one of the most important duties of life. The happiness or misery, not merely of an individual but of the world, depend upon the good or bad morals of its inhabitants; and the morals of men chiefly depend on the principles of action, which are impressed on

the minds of children. If your son should in future turn out ill, you will have the comfort of knowing that you have not to reproach yourself with having neglected his education; if well, you may justly attribute some merit to your own foresight, and assiduity in the conduct of his education.

"By writing thus seriously you will perceive, that I look upon religious instruction as the surest basis of future respectability of character; and I am happy in knowing that Lady Euston, to whose care your young man must, as to that point, have been hitherto principally confided, is both from disposition and ability fully adequate to the trust. By religious instruction, I do not mean that he should at his time of life, or indeed at any time of life, be occupied in theological controversy, or perplexed in estimating the worth of the several systems of faith with which the Christian world has unhappily been every where oppressed; but that he should be habituated to consider the Gospels as containing a *rule of life*, which no propensities of sense, no fashion of the world, no licen-

tious conversation of infidel companions, should ever induce him to disparage or neglect. It is a state which, if believed with sincerity and followed with firmness, will lead him and us all in every situation, and in every vicissitude of fortune, to tranquillity of mind in this first scene of our existence, and to the perfection of our being in all succeeding scenes. I do not mean to preach to you; but I am so convinced of the truth and importance of what I have written, that I could not forbear touching on the subject.

"You very properly wish your young man to write and to speak good English. The best means of acquiring that qualification is to converse with the best company, to read the best written books, and to translate some of the fine passages of the ancients. But as all this cannot be expected from a youth of his age, I will mention only two books, with which if he becomes familiar, his language will insensibly become elegant and strong,—"Middleton's Life of Cicero," and "Plutarch's Lives," by Langhorne. The language of both is good, and of the first excellent. I mention

MAHARAJA SERFOGI

these books, not in preference to Addison, Swift, &c. on account of language, but because the perusal of them will carry on his classical education; and inspire him with the noble sentiments of some of the greatest men the world has ever seen. There is another book most admirably fitted to form the taste of a young man in classical literature, to instruct him in a great variety of useful knowledge, to imbue his mind with proper principles, and to give him a turn for such studies and acquirements, as are peculiarly ornamental to every gentleman, and not unworthy the attention of a man of rank,—Rollin's "Belles Lettres." I am strengthened in my good opinion of this work, by knowing how greatly it was esteemed by Bishop Atterbury, one of the politest scholars of his age. It may be proper to read this book in the translation, (the third edition of which was published in 1742,) rather than in the original French, because the English is not deficient in correctness and perspicuity. As to translating, in order to form a copious and nervous style, nothing can be more proper: the practice is recommended by Cicero and

Quintilian, and I dare say is not unknown to your son. The Etonian Greek and Latin Selecta have been probably put into his hands at Harrow for that purpose. It will be of use to him to compare his own performances in that way with those of approved translations, and Pliny's Letters, translated by Melmoth, is a book well fitted for that end; especially as the perusal of the Letters themselves will afford him pleasure and instruction of various kinds: the 97th Letter of the tenth book is a noble proof of the good morals of the Christians in the first age.

"It would be easy for me to point out other books, as instruments of an education suited to your future views for your son, and to his future situation in this country, as a public man; and at a proper time I shall be happy to do it; but we had better wait till his capacity is ascertained, and the particular bent of his mind is better developed, than it can be at present. But it will not be an easy matter for you to persuade him to use such diligence and application, as will enable him to derive the proper benefit from the plan, which may be

chalked out for him. I, at least, have found it difficult to stimulate either of my sons to great literary exertions; one of them makes a good soldier; and the other may make a good clergyman; but both of them might have been eminent in learning.

"Nothing great can be done in classics, in science, in politics, in any thing without incessant industry, and our manners are against the use of it. Boys too soon cease to be boys, and for that reason they continue boys in intellect all their days. This, as Johnson would have called it, precocity of manners we have imported with other mischiefs from France. I look upon Euclid as the best possible logic, and I shall think two months of your young man's time excellently spent in being able to demonstrate, at sight of the scheme, every proposition in the first book; and if he never went further in mathematics, he would have acquired the habit of clear reasoning and attentive reading. If Dr. Maltby can do this for him, not in a superficial but in a true fundamental manner, he will render him a great service; for in mathematics, and in every other literary pursuit,

a little knowledge perfectly attained is preferable to a superficial knowledge of a great deal. When he gets to Cambridge, I think it will be useful to him in addition to his college lectures, to attend the public courses of Botany, Anatomy, Chemistry, &c., not with a view of making him deeply versed in these matters, but to open his mind by general knowledge, and to keep him from falling into idleness and dissipation.

"It is very right to make your son an allowance: it will gratify him with a notion of independence: it will teach him the use of money; and it will tighten the bonds of confidence and affection, which ought always to subsist between a father and a son. I must caution you, however, to let your allowance be short of what you can afford to give him, that you may not be vexed or distressed by his exceeding it; for most young men, from inexperience or indiscretion incident to their age, are apt to outrun their income, be it ever so large. An occasional present of an hundred pounds, though it may not exceed what you intended for him, will excite his grati-

tude and regard, infinitely more than if it came as part of his allowance.

"I must have sufficiently tired you without exhausting the subject, but I will relieve you for the present, begging you to have no scruple in writing to me on any subject, in which you think that I can be of service to you or yours. Adieu, my dear Lord, and be assured of the sincerity of the friendship with which

"I am ever yours,

"R. LANDAFF."

"P. S.—I am sorry to hear of Mr. Pitt's danger; I always had a regard for him, and cannot without regret think of losing an old acquaintance."

Mr. Pitt was actually dead at the date of the above letter. His conduct to me had been uniformly unkind, I might justly say ungrateful, but I never bore him any ill will on that account; for I thought it was very probable I had been slandered by persons about him, and I knew that his talents and disinterestedness merited my

esteem, and that of every impartial man. Doctor Price said of Lord North that "he "doubled a national debt before too heavy "to be endured; and let future genera-"tions rise up, and if possible call him—"BLESSED!" What would he have said had he lived to see the state of the debt at the death of Mr. Pitt? Lord North's American war rendered it difficult for a man of five hundred pounds a-year to support the station of a gentleman, and Mr. Pitt's French war has rendered it impossible. In March, 1806, the following advertisement appeared in the newspapers.

"**Pembroke Lodge.**

"The Reverend Claudius Buchanan, Vice-president of the College of Fort William, in Bengal, having proposed a prize of 500*l.* to all graduates, who on the first day of March, 1807, shall be Bachelors of Law or Physic, Inceptors, or Masters of Arts, or persons of superior degrees in the University of Cambridge, for the best work in English Prose, embracing the following subjects:

" 1. The probable design of the Divine Providence in subjecting so large a portion of Asia to the British dominions.

" 2. The duty, the means, and the consequences of translating the Scriptures into the Oriental tongues, and of promoting Christian knowledge in Asia.

" 3. A Brief Historic View of the Progress of the Gospel in different Nations since its first Publication, illustrated by maps, shewing its luminous track throughout the world, with chronological notices of its duration in particular places, the regions of Mahomedanism to be marked with red, and those of Paganism with a dark colour.—The candidates are requested to send their compositions to the Vice-chancellor under a sealed cover, on or before the first day of March, 1807, and to distinguish them by any motto they please, sending at the same time their names sealed up, under another cover, with the same motto inscribed upon it."

Mr Buchanan had sent me in 1805 his interesting memoir on the Expediency of

an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India; and on reading the above advertisement I transmitted to him the following letter :—

"Calgarth Park, 15th May, 1806.

"Reverend Sir,

"SOME weeks ago, I received, *from the author*, your memoir on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, for which obliging attention I now return you my best thanks. I hesitated for some time, whether I ought to interrupt your speculations with my acknowledgements for so valuable a present; but on being informed of the noble premium by which you propose to exercise the talents of graduates in the University of Cambridge, I determined to express to you my admiration of your disinterestedness and zeal in the cause of Christianity.

"Twenty years and more have now elapsed, since in my sermon before the House of Lords, I hinted to the then government the propriety of paying regard to the propagation of Christianity in India; and I have since then, as fit occasions

offered, privately but unsuccessfully pressed the matter on the consideration of those in power. If my voice or opinion can in future be of any weight with the King's ministers, I shall be most ready to exert myself in forwarding any prudent measure for promoting a liberal Ecclesiastical Establishment in British India. It is not without consideration that I say a *liberal* Establishment; because I heartily wish that every Christian should be at liberty to worship God according to his conscience, and be assisted therein by a teacher of his own persuasion, at the public expense.

" The subjects which you have proposed for the work which shall obtain your prize, are all of them judiciously chosen; and, if properly treated, (as my love for my *Alma Mater* persuades me they will be,) may probably turn the thoughts of the legislature towards the measure you recommend. The *Salutaris Lux Evangelii* by Fabricius, published at Hamburgh, in 1781, will be of great use to the candidates for your prize, and his *Index Geographicus Episcopatuum Orbis Christiani*, subjoined to that work, might, if accom-

panied with proper notes, afford a very satisfactory elucidation to your third head.

"God in his providence hath so ordered things, that America, which three hundred years ago was wholly peopled by Pagans, has now many millions of Christians in it; and will not probably, three hundred years hence, have a single Pagan in it; but be inhabited by more Christians, and by more enlightened Christians, than now exist in Europe.

"Africa is not worse fitted for the reception of Christianity, than America was when it was first visited by Europeans; and Asia is much better fitted for it, inasmuch as Asia enjoys a considerable degree of civilisation, and some degree of it is necessary to the successful introduction of Christianity. The commerce and the colonisation of Christian States have civilised America, and they will in time civilise and christianise the whole earth.

"Whether it be a Christian duty to attempt, by *lenient* methods, to propagate the Christian religion among Pagans and Mahometans, can be doubted I think by few; but whether any attempt will be at-

tended with much success till Christianity is purified from its corruptions, and the lives of Christians are rendered correspondent to their Christian profession, may be doubted by many; but there certainly never was a more promising opportunity for trying the experiment of subverting paganism in British India, than what has for some years been offered to the government of Great Britain.

"The morality of our holy religion is so salutary to civil society; its promise of a future state so consolatory to individuals; its precepts are so suited to the deductions of the most enlightened reason, that it must finally prevail throughout the world. Some have thought that Christianity is losing ground in Christendom; I am of a different opinion. Some ascititious doctrines of Christianity derived from Rome and Geneva are losing ground; some unchristian practices springing from bigotry, intolerance, self-sufficiency of opinion, and uncharitableness of judgment, are losing ground; but a belief in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world, as the author of eternal life to all who obey his Gos-

pel, is more and more confirmed every day in the minds of men of eminence and condition, not only in this, but in every other Christian country. From this praise, I am not disposed to exclude even France itself, notwithstanding the temporary apostasy of its philosophers from every degree of religious faith. I cannot but hope well of that country, when I see its National Institute proposing for public discussion the following subject:—"What has "been the influence of the Reformation of "Luther on the political situation of the "different states of Europe, and on the "progress of knowledge?" especially when I see the subject treated by Mr. Villers, in a manner which would have conferred honour on the most liberal Protestant in the freest state in Europe. It cannot be denied that the morals of Christians in general fall far short of the standard of Christian perfection, and that they have always done so, scarcely excepting the latter half of the first century, but notwithstanding this concession, it is a certain fact that the Christian religion has ever operated to the production of piety, benevolence,

self-government, and a love of virtue amongst individuals in every place where it has been established; and it will every where operate more powerfully, as it is received with a more firm assurance of its truth; as it is better understood: for when it is properly understood, it will be freed from the pollutions of superstition and fanaticism amongst the hearers, and from ambition, domination, and secularity amongst the teachers.

"Your publication has given us in England a great insight into the state of Christianity in India, as well as into the general state of learning amongst you; and it has excited in me the warmest wishes for the *prosperity of the college of Fort William. It is an institution which would have done honour to the wisdom of Solon and Lycurgus. I have no personal knowledge of the Marquis Wellesley, but I shall think of him and his coadjutors in this undertaking with the highest respect and admiration as long as I live.*

"I cannot enter into any particulars relative to an ecclesiastical establishment in India; nor would it perhaps be proper to press Government to take the matter into

their consideration till this country is freed from the danger which threatens it; but I have that opinion of His Majesty's present ministers that they will, not only from policy, but from a serious sense of religious duty, be disposed to treat the subject, whenever it comes before them, with great judgment and liberality. May God direct their counsels!

"Our empire in India, said Mr. Hastings, has been acquired by the sword, and must be maintained by the sword. I cannot agree with him in this sentiment. Most empires have originally been acquired by violence, but they are best established by moderation and justice. There was a time when we showed ourselves to the inhabitants of India in the character of tyrants and robbers; that time, I trust, is gone for ever. The wisdom of British policy, the equity of its jurisprudence, the impartiality of its laws, the humanity of its penal code, and, above all, the incorrupt administration of public justice, will, when they are well understood, make the Indians our willing subjects, and induce them to adopt a religion attended with such consequences to

the dearest interests of human kind. They will rejoice in having exchanged the tyranny of pagan superstition, and the despotism of their native princes, for the mild mandates of Christianity, and the stable authority of equitable laws. The difference between such different states of civil society, as to the production of human happiness, is infinite; and the attainment of happiness is the ultimate aim of all individuals in all nations.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Though I have said in the preceding letter that some degree of civilisation is necessary to the successful introduction of Christianity among Pagans, I would not be thought wholly to discourage the attempt of introducing it amongst the most barbarous; for Christianity, once introduced in any degree, would presently become the most effectual means of humanising even cannibals, and offerers of human sacrifices to the manes of their ancestors. Civilisation, inasmuch as it inculcates moral distinctions, prepares men's minds for

the reception of Christianity; and there is not a precept in the Christian religion which does not tend to strengthen the obligations, and to exalt the comforts of civilised life. Hence it may be truly said that Christianity and civilisation are of reciprocal use to each other. Notwithstanding this, the old saying, *Quodcunque recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis,* holds true in religion as well as in other things; we may as reasonably attempt to teach algebra to an infant, as to inculcate into an uncivilised man either the pure principles of Christian morality or the sublime doctrines of our faith.

I made, in 1805 and 1806, a large plantation, consisting of three hundred and twenty-two thousand five hundred larches, on two high and barren mountains, called Berkfell and Gomershow, situated near the foot of Winandermere. During the same period, I improved above an hundred and fifty acres of land, which was covered with heath, and not worth two shillings an acre, situated at Kelleth, in the parish of Orton, in the county of Westmoreland. I know

of no means more honourable, more certain, or more advantageous, of increasing a man's property, and promoting at the same time the public good, than by planting larches on mountainous districts, and improving low waste lands, (where lime is reasonable and the soil tolerable,) by bringing them into tillage. I drew up a paper on these subjects, and presented it to the Board of Agriculture in 1807. The paper was ordered by the Board to be printed among their communications, vol. viith, and a gold medal was unanimously voted to the author of it, whose motto prefixed to it was *Private Wealth, and Public Strength.*

Letter to Mr. Hayley, 14*th June,* 1806.

"APPEARANCES, my dear Sir, are against me, accusing me of great indolence, of great incivility, and I know not of what other unpardonable crimes towards yourself; yet all appearances, as often is the case, are false. I waited with impatience for a long time in expectation of receiving from Cadell the kind present of your supplementary pages, and at length I wrote to

have them sent: I received them yesterday, and have this day read a great part of them.

"You have cut up Cumberland with skill, without dirtying yourself by the nasty operation. What he may have said of me I have no curiosity to know, as I am certain that I shall never be at the trouble of either correcting his misapprehensions, or of refuting his malignity. I am aware that many years ago he wrote two pamphlets against me, or rather against my political principles; for I had no personal acquaintance with him, and therefore could not have offended him. On reading one of these two productions, I sat down to answer it; but I soon found that I was heating myself with cudgelling a drawf, and, disdaining such a miserable occupation, I threw my weapons into the fire, and left him to sleep in peace:—his head was never made for close argumentation.

"You render every character you draw perfectly amiable: I am charmed with that of Mr. Rose in the last scene of his life; and not at all surprised that Paley's book strengthened his faith. Lawyers seldom

read much theology; and that book is well calculated to make a great and proper impression on those who are little acquainted with the subject. Paley, in all his publications, had the art of making use, in a very great degree, of other men's labours, and of exhibiting them to the world as novelties of his own. The perspicuity with which he has arranged, and the elegant language in which he has explained many abstruse points, are his own; and for these I give him great praise.

"I am sleeping here as to all literary pursuits, and have nearly finished all my other pursuits. I have nearly done with planting, building, draining, and improving bad land: occupations these which I should probably never have thought of, had I not been compelled to them by the duty of making a moderate provision for a large family. If the world has lost any thing by a long intermission of the means of improving my faculties, and by a now absolute dereliction of all learned labour, the Government is in fault: their neglect obliged me to raise myself to exertions, useful no doubt, and necessary to my family, but not

agreeable to myself. Whether the present men will have more consideration for me than I have hitherto experienced, I neither know nor care. I speak like an honest man when I say, that I care not about promotion. The seventieth year of any man's life should induce him, and it does induce me, to think of something better than either York or Worcester. If either of these sees should be offered to my acceptance on a vacancy, I shall endeavour to do my duty in a more important diocese than that which has engaged my attention for twenty-four years.

"I wonder that you do not feel an inclination to rest on your oars; but while your labours instruct and delight others, I hope they will be continued, and be of comfort to yourself.

"We are distressed by want of rain: we have plenty of it (nearly sixty inches,) in the course of the year, but very little comparatively speaking in the spring months. By dividing the year into three equal parts, beginning with February, I find the proportionable quantities of rain which fall in February, March, April, May; in June,

July, August, September; in October, November, December, January, to be as 5, 11, 9, so that in the four summer months we have more than twice as much rain as in the four spring months. Whether these proportions extend to all other districts of the country, I have no means of knowing accurately, but I conjecture that they do.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

I had an occasional correspondence with Mr. Hayley, but I had neither time nor taste for letter-writing, and seldom kept copies of letters about nothing: the subjoined to Mr. Hayley, though here misplaced as to time, I met with since I finished the former part of these anecdotes.

Letter to Mr. Hayley, Nov. 2, 1805.

"My dear Sir,

"I SIT down to account to you for a long seeming neglect, and to beg you to accept the narration as an excuse for it. When your letter (I am ashamed to look at the date) of June the 23d arrived at Calgarth

Park, I was visiting my diocese; after my return, a good deal of business and an incessant flux of *Lakers*, (such is the denomination by which we distinguish those who come to see our country, intimating thereby not only that they are persons of taste, who wish to view our lakes, but idle persons who love *laking*: the old Saxon word to lake, or play, being of common use among school-boys in these parts,) left me for several weeks no time to think of any thing but hospitality; and your letter lay hidden among a mass of papers which overspread my table. When I discovered it about a month ago, I was labouring with hands and knees to get rid of the gout which had seized both — another guest you will suppose of my hospitality. This is the first fit that I have had; it has not yet quite left me. I am not conscious of having deserved it by any intemperance, yet I blush for having introduced so great a malady into my family.

"I think Cowper's works are his best monument, and most of the subscribers will probably be of the same opinion. But as you desire me to speak frankly, I must say, that

I think many of them will not be pleased with your change of purpose. Your intention of doing something for Mr. Rose's family is highly laudable, and of a piece with your general philanthropy; but a subscriber may justly say, If my subscription is to go in charity, I myself have many objects as deserving, and more connected with me than any godson of Mr. Cowper. As to my own subscription, I beg it may go, should you print no part of Milton, to the orphans you so kindly protect.

"I return my best thanks for the present of your Ballads; the subjects are well chosen, and the tales are sweetly told. On one of our highest mountains (Helvellyn) a man was lost last year: two months after his disappearance his body was found, and his faithful dog sitting by it; a part of the body was eaten, but whether hunger had compelled the dog to the deed is not known. I remember the late Duke of Northumberland having told me, that a young antelope of his had by accident been killed by a fall from the top of his house at Sion, to which it had ascended by a trap-door being left open at the head of a stair-

case, and that its mother, which was feeding in the pasture, refusing to quit the body, died of grief and hunger.

"A book concerning the habitudes of animals, by Mr. Bindley, was lately advertised: I have not yet seen it. The subject is curious but difficult; it requires long and patient attention to come to any certain conclusion respecting the manners and perhaps the *nascent* morals of animals; for a well-trained pointer, and other domesticated and well educated animals seem to have a knowledge of what may be called their duty to their master. I leave this hint to your philosophy concerning the gradation of beings.

"I do not know of any book giving an account of institutions for the support of orphans: you probably may meet with something to your purpose in Justinian's Institutes, or in some of the Roman writers after the empire became Christian; for it is to Christianity, principally, that the world is indebted for charitable institutions. Widows indeed and orphans were at an early period of the Roman history exempted from taxation, to which all other per-

sons were subjected: this curious fact is mentioned by Plutarch in his life of Publicola.

"Persius (Sat. iv. lib. 3.) calls Alcibiades the pupil of Pericles, but whether the term *pupillus* always means an orphan, I am not certain: perhaps the time of the death of his father Clinias, may be mentioned by Plutarch or Nepos. Coriolanus's father died when he was an infant. Alcibiades and Coriolanus would with Demosthenes make as noble a trio of orphans as all antiquity could furnish. If you wish for a *partie quarré,* and have no objection to the man, Mahomet is at your service.

"The ophthalmia, I hope, has left you. Without doubt this complaint has been occasioned in yourself from the too great use you have made of your eyes; but a similar one, which afflicted our troops in Egypt, proceeded, I think, from a too great glare of light. My reason for this conjecture is founded on what happens to sheep: when our mountains continue for a long time covered with snow, a great many sheep become blind, and gradually receive their sight on the melting of the snow.

"I what I recommended to be done two years ago had then been adopted, we should now have had an hundred thousand youths instructed in the use of arms, and no one who considers our danger at present but must think that we have need of twice this number. When shall we have peace on earth? Never, till the cabinets of Kings and Emperors are guided by the spirit of Christianity.—Adieu. Permit me to hope that you continue your regard to your affectionate friend and servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

The Bishop of London about this time sent me his tract on the Beneficial Effects of Christianity, and I returned him my thanks in the following letter:

"Calgarth Park, Aug. 5, 1806.

"My dear Lord,

"I YESTERDAY received, and have this day perused with great pleasure, your very seasonable, elegant, and well-arranged publication. Every serious Christian will think himself indebted to you for the judicious collection of facts by which you have con-

trasted Paganism with Christianity. What others had inadvertently mentioned you have treated in detail, and so completely decided the question—Whether Christianity has been of use to mankind?—that it will never be moved again. I am not disposed to think so ill of human nature as to conceive it to be a *mass of corruption, incapable of any good actions, and destitute of all benevolent feelings.* Revealed religion does unquestionably, by its superior sanctions, assist us more effectually than reason can do, in restraining within due limits our passions, but neither of them enables us, on every occasion, to subdue them entirely.

"Metius was torn to pieces by horses; Ravaillac suffered a similar punishment; but (notwithstanding the apparent insensibility of Virgil) Livy's humane observation was, I am persuaded, as true concerning the Heathens in Italy, as the Christians in France, under similar circumstances—*Avertere omnes à tantâ fœditate spectaculi oculos.*

"Christian warfare is certainly far less truculent than Pagan warfare either ever was or now is; and Arnobius had, even in

his time, much reason on his side when he made the following remark :—*Non est difficile comprobare bella, post auditum Christum in mundo, non tantum non aucta, verum etiam, majore ex parte, furiarum compressionibus imminuta. Nam cum hominum vis tanta magisteriis ejus acceperimus ac legibus, malum malo rependi non oportere; injuriam perpeti quam irrogare esse præstantius; suum potius fundere quam alieno polluere manus et conscientiam cruore; habet à Christo beneficium jamdudum orbis ingratus; per quod feritatis mollita est rabies, atque hostiles manus cohibere à sanguine cognati animantis occœpit.* I like the *ingratus*, and give it to the philosophers whom you have so justly reprehended.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Letter to the Duke of Gordon on his having sent me a Paper of Col. Imrie's.

"My Lord Duke,

"I AM highly gratified by the perusal of Col. Imrie's paper: it is by such efforts that the geology of any particular country can be ascertained, or any sound con-

jecture formed concerning the nature of the globe we inhabit. The surface of this globe consists of three parts of water and of but one of earth, yet the accurate delineation of the one part would occupy the labours of all the philosophers in Europe for fifty years;—nothing less than such a delineation can ascertain the connexions, interruptions, and mutual dependencies of the several strata which compose its surface.

"Some men are apt to enquire, What is the use of such investigation? I esteem these men to be as simple in their notions as the academic youths are, who being puzzled in attempting to pass the Asses' Bridge in Euclid, ask, Where is the use of going over it? For my own part, I am so confident of the utility which would attend an accurate knowledge of the stratification of this island, that I think a work of this kind ought to be undertaken at the public expense; and that every great river issuing from Plinlimmon, Skiddaw, Benevish, &c. should be examined through the whole of its course, with as much accuracy as the North Eske has been examined by Col. Imrie. The beds and veins of limestone,

marble, coal, slate, sulphur, and metallic ores, are in the present state of society of such high importance, that every encouragement should be given to the discovery of them where they are not at present known; and nothing can more contribute to this end than an accurate knowledge of the manner in which these strata appear to this day in mountainous countries: analogy would then enable us to discover them where they are not known at present.

"I beg Your Grace to accept my thanks, for your goodness in sending me Col. Imrie's paper, and to take the trouble of assuring him that it will give me real pleasure to receive him, on any occasion, at Calgarth Park.

"Mrs. Watson and my young ladies regret that Your Grace favoured us with so short a visit, and unite with me in hoping for the future honour of your longer stay. Would it not be advisable in future investigations, to mention the altitude of the mountains above the level of the sea?

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

The Bishop of St. Asaph died unexpectedly in October, 1806. It was very generally imagined that I should have been translated to that see; and that I might not furnish the minister (Lord Grenville) with the excuse for passing me by—that I had not asked for it,—I got a common friend to inform him, that on account of my northern connexions the bishoprick of St. Asaph would be peculiarly acceptable to myself. It was given to the Bishop of Bangor, and the bishoprick of Bangor was given to the Bishop of Oxford.

I cannot truly say, that I was wholly insensible to these and to many similar arrangements by which I had been for so many years neglected, and exhibited to the world as a marked man fallen under Royal displeasure; but I can say, that neither was the tranquillity of my mind disturbed, nor my adherence to the principles of the Revolution shaken, nor my attachment to the House of Brunswick, *acting on these principles*, lessened thereby. I knew that I possessed not the talents of adulation, intrigue, and versatility of prin-

ciple, by which laymen as well as churchmen usually in courts ascend the ladder of ambition. I knew this, and I remained without repining at the bottom of it. I was sensible, at the same time, that His Majesty's favour was properly esteemed a source of honour, and being fearful lest his apparent disfavour (for I thought not on this occasion of ministers) should be considered as a stigma of disgrace, I sent the following letter to the Duke of Clarence, with whom I had corresponded on the slave trade:—

"Calgarth Park, Nov. 25, 1806.

"Sir,

"To acquire the esteem of wise and good men, is one of the few objects of ambition which we need not blush to own: this kind of ambition has I confess on all occasions actuated my mind, and I cannot but feel great uneasiness, that I have not acquired the esteem of the King. This uneasiness does not proceed from any disappointment of my hopes of profit or promotion, but from anxiety respecting my honour and character. The world will

think (whatever *posterity* may think) that I could not have experienced the marked neglect in the line of my profession, which I have met with, unless I had merited His Majesty's disregard by private misconduct, or public delinquency.

" At no period of my life have I used any means of obtaining preferment except by endeavouring to deserve it; and in my seventieth year it would ill become me to be solicitous for a translation on my own account; but ever since bad health (brought on by a too incessant application to literary pursuits) rendered me unable to discharge in person the duties of my office in the University of Cambridge, I have been very desirous that the theological chair should not be filled by a deputy. I cannot resign the emolument of the office, for even with it, I am worse provided for than any of my brethren, and without it, I should not have a church income of fifteen hundred a-year at the most.

" I was told many years ago, that I had enemies at court; but not knowing how I could have incurred the enmity of any man alive, I did not credit the information;

and if I had given credit to it, yet, being conscious of the strongest attachment to the constitution in church and state, and of the warmest loyalty to the King, I could never have stooped to the base business of counteracting private calumny, except by public exertion.

" I call it public exertion, that in the general decline of public probity (a circumstance always attending and often causing the declension of states) I have uniformly dared to do my duty to my King and to my conscience, by preserving my parliamentary independence, and voting, when I did vote, not according to the suggestions of any party, but in compliance with the deliberate dictates of my own mind.

" It was in perfect conformity to this principle, that on the question of the regency (when I thought that the ambition of the minister was injuring the right of the heir apparent) I delivered in the House of Lords a speech which I submit with a degree of confidence to posterity, from one of the most enlightened heads of the law (Sir James Eyre) having assured me the day after it was spoken, that he thought it

by far the most constitutional speech which had been delivered in either House of Parliament on that occasion.

"I call it public exertion, that in moments of danger, foreign and domestic, I have repeatedly endeavoured, by seasonable publications, to rouse the spirit of the country, to abate the ferment of sedition, and to stop the progress of infidelity among the mass of the people, being sensible that the subversion of government must accompany the extinction of religion.

"I call it public exertion, that in having formerly suggested to the Duke of Richmond, when Master-General of the Ordnance, a change in the manner of preparing charcoal for the fabrication of gunpowder, I have not only greatly improved the strength of the powder, but have annually saved to the country for many years, and am still saving to it (as I am credibly informed), above fifty thousand pounds a year. I have not ever thought of soliciting a reward from parliament for so great a service: the country is welcome to whatever I can do for its safety and prosperity.

"I should be sorry to be considered as

boasting of these matters. I mention them from a hope that they will induce your Royal Highness not only to think favourably of me yourself, which will give me great satisfaction, but to pardon the liberty of my request, that you would have the condescension to show this letter to the Prince of Wales, whose good opinion I have reason to believe that I formerly possessed, and whom I by this means most earnestly entreat to take some opportunity of doing me justice with the King.

"I am,
"With great deference and respect,
"Your Royal Highness's
"Most obedient servant,
"R. LANDAFF."

With the most gentleman-like attention, suited to his high rank, the Duke of Clarence immediately informed me, that he would transmit my letter to the Prince of Wales then at Brighton.

Letter to the Duke of Grafton, Dec. 10th, 1807.

"My dear Lord Duke,

"I HAVE no personal knowledge of Doc-

tor Buchanan, but I cannot help admiring his zeal in the promotion of learning in India. For two or three years successively I had an opportunity of perusing the account of the Collegium Bengalense, established at Fort William, under the auspices of the Marquis Wellesley; and I rejoiced very much at the prospect of the Christian religion, and of general science, being diffused throughout India, by the instrumentality of the youths who should in future be educated in that seminary. The Pagans of India, I thought, would in future story speak of Great Britain as the Egyptians spoke of Chaldea, as Greece spoke of Egypt, as Rome spoke of Greece,—as the parent of science and civilisation.

"I know nothing of the reasons which have induced either the government of the country, or the directors of the East-India Company, to ruin this College in its infancy: I suspect, indeed, that they are founded either on commercial avarice, which would not afford the expense of its establishment; or in religious indifference, which esteems Paganism as useful in the world as Christianity; or in irrational ap-

prehension lest science and Christianity should render the natives less loyal subjects, than they are found to be under the influence of ignorance and superstition. If these, or reasons such as these, have occasioned the extinction of so noble an establishment, I may say that I do not admire the capacity of those who have been influenced by them.

"The Emperor of Russia in his declaration avows himself a supporter of the principles of the armed neutrality. Am I an enemy to my country, in doubting whether these principles are just; in doubting whether we have not, on the ocean, exercised *power* without *right?*—a practice equally detestable to me in public and in private life, between independent nations as between independent individuals.

"But what is now to be done?—Justice. Let it be examined whether we have or have not the right over neutral nations, which we contend for, and let the examination be founded on the broad basis of natural justice, rather than on ancient usage or compulsory conventions. If we have not, on impartial examination, the

right we esteem, let us tranquillise Europe by not claiming it, and trust our cause to the providence of God. Even heathen merchants could say,—*Discite justitiam moniti et non temnere Divos.*

"The present crisis furnishes an admonition of the most alarming kind. But if we have right, let us die to a man rather than abandon it; for to abandon on great occasions the defence of right is to encourage the progress of wrong. Not but it may be a subject of consideration, whether the defence of right may not, in certain circumstances, cost more than it is worth.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Being appointed to preach at the Chapel-Royal on the 15th of February, 1807, I went to London in the beginning of that month, and published the sermon I then preached, together with another which I had preached in the same place eight years before, under the title of "A second Defence of revealed Religion." I had not written either of these sermons with an intention of publishing them, but being told

that the Bishop of London had manifested his disapprobation of some parts of the latter by a significant shake of the head whilst I was preaching, I determined to let him see that I had no fear of submitting my sentiments on abstruse theological points to public animadversions, notwithstanding their not being quite so orthodox as his own; and I was the more disposed to do this, from having been informed, on the very best authority, that an imputed want of orthodoxy had been objected to me when the archbishoprick of Armagh was given to Stuart.

What is this thing called Orthodoxy, which mars the fortunes of honest men, misleads the judgment of princes, and occasionally endangers the stability of thrones? In the true meaning of the term, it is a sacred thing to which every denomination of Christians lays an arrogant and exclusive claim, but to which no man, no assembly of men, since the apostolic age, can prove a title. It is frequently amongst individuals of the same sect nothing better than self-sufficiency of opinion, and phari-

saical pride, by which each man esteems himself more righteous than his neighbours. It may, perhaps, be useful in cementing what is called the *alliance* between Church and State; but if such an alliance obstructs candid discussions, if it invades the right of private judgment, if it generates bigotry in churchmen or intolerance in statesmen, it not only becomes inconsistent with the general principles of Protestantism, but it impedes the progress of the kingdom of Christ, which we all know is not of this world.

On the 23d of March, 1807, the abolition of the Slave Trade was finally debated in the House of Lords; and I made the following speech:—

"My Lords,

"THOUGH the question now before the House has occupied the deliberations of parliament, and engaged the attention of the public, for several years, yet it has so happened that I have never, before this day, had an opportunity of delivering in my place, my sentiments upon it. I now feel that I am standing in the situation of a

zealous auxiliary, who, having been prevented from sharing honourably in the danger of the battle, is ambitious of participating in the triumph of victory.

"The origin of slavery, like the origin of most other civil institutions, is involved in great obscurity. There is good reason, however, to believe, that it existed in the antediluvian world. Noah lived six hundred years in that world, and could not fail, in that period, of becoming well acquainted with its manners and institutions. In the course of a very few years after the Deluge, Noah pronounced a prophetic curse against one of the children of his youngest son Ham, saying of Canaan,—A servant of servants,—that is, a slave of slaves, the vilest of all slaves,—shall he be to his brethren. This denunciation, Your Lordships will please to observe, would have been an unintelligible menace, had not the miserable state of slavery been well known to Noah and his sons.

"However this may be, it is clear from sacred history, the most authentic of all histories, that not only a trade in slaves subsisted in the age of Joseph, (when he

himself was sold by his brethren to the Ishmaelites, who were travelling with their caravans into Egypt,) but that, two hundred years before that event, Abraham is said to have been rich, not only in gold and silver, in camels and asses, but in men slaves and women slaves: where the slaves are considered to be as much the property of Abraham as the cattle were. It may hence, I think, be inferred, that a state of slavery has been coëval with the origin of civil society, and, in truth, it almost springs from it. I conceive it to be the annexation of individual labour to things in common, which gives rise to property, but that it is the institution of civil society which gives security to it; and, unless in cases of extreme necessity, excludes every individual from the possession of it.

"When *Meum* and *Tuum* are once introduced among men, a selling of human labour for the support of human life is a necessary consequence; for the right of extreme necessity cannot exist till a man has offered, in vain, to give his labour for his subsistence.

"This bartering of labour for the support

of life is a just origin of slavery. For though we should define slavery to be compulsory labour for the benefit of another, yet this is voluntary labour for a man's own benefit, — it is the fulfilment of a voluntary compact. This compact may be various in its conditions with regard to the nature and quantum of the labour to be performed, and with respect to its duration: the agreement may be made for a day, a month, a year, for many years, or for life; but how long soever it may last, I see no injustice in it, since it was voluntary in its commencement.

" Captivity in an unjust war is generally considered as another source of lawful slavery. I do not, on this occasion, mean to argue that point; though I must be allowed to think, that war has practices and principles peculiar to itself, which but ill quadrate with the rule of moral rectitude, and are quite abhorrent from the benignity of Christianity; and I do not clearly see the morality of making slaves of ignorant and innocent peasants, who have been compelled to fight the unjust battles of ambitious princes.

"Other origins of slavery might be mentioned, but I need not enter further into the discussion of them. A state of slavery has not only been coëval with society, but co-extensive with it. I know not whether a single city could be mentioned in any of the four celebrated monarchies of former times in which it did not exist, or any country, except a Christian country, in which it does not even now subsist.

"But there is one short argument, if there were no other, which proves that slavery is not as such opposite to justice. God cannot authorise injustice; but he did authorise slavery amongst the Jews; therefore slavery is not opposite to justice. Nor am I certain that slavery is any where expressly forbidden by the letter of the New Testament. *Man-stealing* is, indeed, expressly forbidden to Christians, as it was, under the penalty of death, forbidden to the Jews; but the Greek word rendered men-stealers, in the New Testament, does not probably mean the same as *men-buyers*, nor can we from thence infer, that a traffic in slaves is, *totidem verbis*, prohibited to Christians. Think not, My Lords, from

what has been said, that I am becoming an advocate for slavery: I abhor it under every denomination; but I am not prepared to say that every species of slavery is unjust, contrary to the law of God, either natural or revealed. Notwithstanding this concession, I consider the abolition of the African Slave Trade as a noble triumph of Christian principle over the avarice of commerce; and if there is a God governing the affairs of men, (as doubtless there is, though we may not be able on every occasion to say this is His work,) this godlike act of the British legislature will never be blotted from the register of Heaven. We may, perhaps, experience, and speedily experience, great calamity; for what nation does not deserve punishment? But in the day of our distress God will remember this national act of general philanthropy; and the remembrance of it will arrest in its descent the rod of divine chastisement, or it will mitigate the severity of its fall.

"Let no friend to this horrid traffic undertake to palliate its atrocity by an appeal to the Mosaic code. The Jewish trade in slaves was as remarkable for its humanity,

as the African for the contrary. Were African slavery in all its circumstances similar to Jewish slavery, its continuance might have been not commended perhaps, but endured till a better state of society had taken place. It is very material too to remark, that many things were allowed to the Jews which are not allowed to Christians. The *lex talionis* was enjoined to the Jews, but Christians are forbidden to demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Polygamy and a frequency of divorce were indulged to the Jews: they are not allowed to Christians. The Jewish dispensation was calculated to render Jews a more moral people than the Heathens were, and the Christian dispensation is calculated to render Christians a peculiar people, more zealous of good works, than either the Heathens or the Jews were. To Christians, My Lords, there belongs a badge, by which they are or ought to be distinguished from every other description of men: there is inscribed on this badge a new commandment, — Love one another. — But in what corner of an African ship is this badge to be found? In what West India slave-market

is this badge exhibited? To what whip of a Negro gang-driver is this badge appended? It is related of the Emperor Alexander Severus, that he shewed great kindness to Christians on account of the benevolent maxims of their religion; and that he ordered the precept, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris,* to be inscribed on the gates of his palace, and on other public edifices in Rome. We, My Lords, are on this day emulating the magnanimity of this Emperor. We are writing on the expanded sails of our African slave-ships, — "*Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*" We are writing this summary of what the law hath commanded, or the prophets have taught, with a pen, plucked from a wing of the cherubim, shadowing the mercy-seat of Heaven: the inscription will be read with tears of gratitude throughout the continent of Africa: it will be read, to our honour, by every nation in Christendom; and it will sooner or later induce them all to follow our example: in a word, it will tend to humanise, to civilise, and ultimately to christianise the whole earth.

"But suppose that other nations should

not immediately follow our example, we shall have the solid satisfaction of having done our duty. Duties, Your Lordships well know, are divided by moralists into duties of perfect and of imperfect obligation; but Christians scarcely allow this distinction, and even Heathens do not approve it; for they tell us, that to be innocent according to law is but a narrow principle of virtue. *Angusta est innocentia ad legem bonum essè,* says Seneca, when he observes that piety, pity, humanity, persuade men to the performance of many actions, all of which are *extra publicas tabulas.* The constable cannot seize a man, the magistrate cannot commit him, the country will not try him, and even Your Lordships will not question him at your bar, for the total neglect of actions which at another bar the most merciful of all judges will condemn him for not having performed; when he will say to those on his left hand,—"Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these my brethren, (a poor, despised, abused African, will not be excluded from this brotherhood,) ye did it not unto me."

"As to the political consequences which

will attend our abolition of the Slave Trade, no human eye can foresee them all: I have a perfect persuasion that they will be beneficial to human kind, for I am certain that they spring from a root of undissembled piety and humanity.

"I never asked a question concerning the abolition of the Slave Trade, except one, and that in the very beginning of the business. The question was put to a witness at Your Lordships' bar, a very respectable West-India planter of the name of Franklin. The question was this, Is it cheaper to breed and rear a slave or to buy a slave? The answer, after some hesitation, was, It is cheaper to buy than to breed a slave. From that moment I thought, and have continued to think, that if means could be devised by the wisdom of parliament, concurring with the experience of the colonial assemblies, of making it cheaper to rear than to purchase slaves, the trade would cease of itself.

"That the labour of the man should recompense the master of his parents for the maintenance of the child, is a just principle; and it is recognised as such by our

own law, which permits the children of paupers to be bound apprentices; and I own I do not see any objection to the children of the present West-India slaves becoming free at the age of twenty-one, of twenty-five, or thirty years, at any period when it may be reasonably calculated that by their labour, as adults, they have repaid the masters of their parents, for the risk and expense attending their rearing and education. The maxim of the civil law, *Partus sequitur ventrem*, has always appeared to me to be an harsh maxim, inasmuch as it doomed the progeny of female slaves to be slaves through all generations: a perpetuity of slavery in a man's family being a far greater evil than the endurance of it in a man's person.

"It would be premature to say any thing further on this subject at this time, and I have no wish to anticipate public wisdom by any observation of mine; but it is not without thought that to the rearing I joined the education of the children of slaves; for if the West-India planters are ever to enjoy the benefit of having their lands cultivated by free Negroes born and brought up in

their islands, the great interests of society require that they should be educated to a certain extent.

"I would conclude, My Lords, with paying my slender tribute of just praise to one individual whose persevering humanity so essentially contributed to the successful issue of this arduous undertaking; I would do this with sincere pleasure, were I not certain, that he feels in his heart a comfort which no praise of man, at least which no praise of mine, can augment:—his reward is in heaven."

Soon after this, the able administration, (greatly indeed weakened by the loss of Mr. Fox,) which had been formed on the death of Mr. Pitt, was dismissed. The ostensible reason of their dismission was, the King's dislike of a measure which they had brought forward in parliament respecting the Irish Catholic officers. The ministers were wisely moved by a liberal and prospective policy, to endeavour to consolidate as much as possible the strength of the empire, by opening to Catholic officers in the army and navy the same road to

honour and emolument which had always been open to Protestants. They were sensible that almost every Gazette which announced the success of our enterprises, made distinguished mention of the gallantry of the inferior Catholic officers; and they wished to confirm the loyalty, and to stimulate the ambition, of such men, by putting them on a level with their fellows in arms.

Unfortunately the King did not see this measure in the same light that his Whig ministers did, and he required them to give him a pledge that they would never more bring forward the question of granting further indulgence to the Irish Catholics. This requisition was not only unprecedented in the annals of the house of Brunswick since its accession to the throne of Great Britain, but it was considered by many as of a tendency dangerous to the constitution; and to me it appeared to be not in words but in fact a declaration of a —*sic volo.* Had His Majesty dismissed his ministers because he disliked their measures, no one would have denied such an

exertion of his prerogative to have been perfectly constitutional, (how much soever he might have individually questioned the discretion of using it in such a crisis;) but to require from privy counsellors, and much more to require from confidential servants of the crown, that they would at any time cease to advise His Majesty for what they esteemed the public good, was to brand them as unprincipled slaves to the royal will, and traitors to the country. The ministers refused to cover themselves with the infamy which would justly have attended their submission to such a demand: they refused, and were dismissed: such sort of ministers would have lost their heads at Constantinople; at London, they, *as yet*, only lose their places. Whilst there remained a competitor of the Stuart family to the throne of Great Britain, the kings of the house of Brunswick were perhaps afraid of the competition; and were satisfied with having been elevated, from an arbitrary dominion over a petty principality in Germany, to the possession of a limited monarchy, over the most enlightened and the most commercial nation in the world. That

competition being now extinguished, it could not be thought unnatural were they to indulge a desire of emancipating themselves from the restraints of parliament; but there is no way of effecting this so secret, safe, and obvious, as by corrupting it. When Rome possessed the empire of the world, its emperor had ample means of corrupting the integrity of the whole senate, and it soon became subservient to his will: public liberty was swallowed up by private profligacy. The first Lord Chatham was a Cato when he declared that Hanover was a mill-stone about the neck of Great Britain; but he became a supple courtier when he boasted of having conquered America in Germany; and he forfeited the esteem of good men when he attempted to adorn the sepulchre of his patriotism by a pension and a peerage. Since his time, for one Cato, one Rockingham, one Saville, one Chatham, (in his honourable days,) we have had, and have, and probably always shall have, (as long as we remain an opulent and luxurious nation,) hundreds resembling him in the decline of his political virtue.

I felt myself, as a Whig, interested in the mode of dismissing this third, half Whig half Tory administration, which had taken place during the reign of George the Third; and I sent to Lord Grenville, with whom I had a slight acquaintance, on the first of April, the following resolution, as fit to be introduced into the House of Lords, whenever the subject should be brought forward:—

"Resolved, That whoever has advised, or shall in future advise, His Majesty to require from his confidential servants a pledge, that they will, on any occasion, abstain from submitting to his consideration any measure of government which they, in their consciences, believe to be conducive to the public weal, is, and ought by this House, to be declared to be an enemy to the constitution of the country."

Lord Grenville sent me word, that he adopted the resolution *in toto*, thinking it better than any thing which had occurred either to himself or his friends.

Doubting, however, whether a less firm resolution might not be more acceptable to the then House of Lords, I got a friend, (the Duke of Grafton,) to send in his own name to Lord Howick the subjoined, on the seventh of April, informing, at the same time, Lord Grenville that I had done so:—

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, that His Majesty's confidential servants cannot, consistently with their duty to the King, enter on any occasion into any engagement, that they will refrain from submitting to his Majesty's consideration any measure of government, which they in their consciences shall believe to be compatible with the honour and dignity of the crown, and conducive to the safety and prosperity of the empire."

With either of these resolutions I would have let the matter drop, without proceeding to enquire who had been the King's advisers, or whether he had acted without advice. My opinion then was, and still is,

that His Majesty in the dismission of his ministers acted without advice; and if he did this in obedience to the dictates of an ill informed, or even a scrupulous conscience, respecting the obligation of his coronation-oath, he acted like an honest man, as to the matter of the dismission; though, as to the mode of it, he seemed, to my apprehension, to have transgressed the limit of a just prerogative.

Something different from, but not better than either of the above resolutions, was moved by the Marquis of Stafford in the House of Lords, on the thirteenth of April, and negatived by a great majority, after a debate which lasted till seven o'clock the next morning. I sat the whole night next to the Bishop of Durham: I knew his sentiments, and intended to have answered him, had he taken any part in the debate. The House, it was said, had never been so full, nor had ever sat so long. The parliament, which had only sat a few months, was soon after dissolved, but not before it had been menaced with a dissolution, if

it did not support the new ministers. It not only did support the new ministers, but it did not impeach, as it ought to have done, the Secretary of State, (Mr. Canning,) by whom it had been menaced.

The new ministers, with the Duke of Portland at their head, artfully for themselves, but improvidently for the country, raised the cry of *No Popery*, and *The Church is in danger*, without bestowing a single thought on the danger of the state. The church is in no danger from *Popery;* but the state must ever be in danger from discontent, whilst a large portion of its members is looked upon by government with a jealous and a repulsive eye. To suspect a Catholic or a Dissenter of disaffection, what is it but to suggest to him a cause for it; but to excite in him a wish for an opportunity of showing it? Little does he know of human nature, and less of Gospel charity, who expects to root out the prejudices either of individuals or of societies by unkindness, to extinguish animosity by violence, or a spirit of revenge by want of confidence.

Whilst this miserable clamour against Popery and the Church's danger lasted, I never hesitated to declare my opinion, that it was both just, and in the state of Bonaparte's strength and temper towards us, highly expedient, to receive both Catholics and Dissenters into the bosom of the constitution; but that it was improper to press any innovation till the people were prepared to receive it; and that I thought the time was not yet come for the general adoption of such a politic and equitable principle of government. Toleration was in every man's mouth; but dominion over the faith of other men, exclusion from privileges possessed by themselves, and a disposition to the exercise of *power without right*, were in the hearts of a great part, probably of a majority, of the people of Great Britain.

In June of the same year, (1807,) Mr. Buckminster, a very respectable clergyman, called at my house, in Westmoreland, and delivered to me a letter from Dr. Elliot, Secretary to the *Massachusetts Historical Society*, enquiring whether I would

accept the election which the Society had made of me, to become a member of it. I immediately sent to Dr. Elliot the following letter, and was much ashamed of my negligence, in not having sooner returned thanks for the honour which I had long known had been spontaneously done me:

"Calgarth Park, 18th June, 1807.

"Reverend Sir,

"The day before yesterday, I was honoured by your letter of May 26th, 1806, delivered to me by Mr. Buckminster, whom I could not prevail upon to favour me with more than an *en passant* visit, though I am certain, from what I saw of him, that I have cause to lament that his engagements would not suffer him to make a longer stay.

"I accept with great pleasure and gratitude the distinction you announce to me, of becoming a member of the *Massachusetts Historical Society*. My studies have not, at any period, been particularly directed to historical enquiry; and, at the age of seventy, I must despair of being able to render the Society any service as an asso-

ciate, especially as I am ignorant of its general design, as it respects either ancient or modern history.

"Nothing can be more interesting either to philosophers or divines, than the history of the human species, considered in its several parts, or as constituting one great whole. The first will be gratified with tracing the progression and the retrogradation of human intellect, according to the influence of physical and moral causes; and the second will be penetrated with the highest veneration for the Bible, which commences, and as it were arranges, the history of human kind, by referring all nations to one common stock. In this view, the distinction between ancient and modern history vanishes; the two together constitute one whole, originating in Adam, and subjected to the moral government of one Incomprehensible Being, from whom every thing is derived. The *real existence*, and the quality and extent of this moral government, which are best discerned by comparing together the circumstances of the species with respect to happiness, virtue, and intelligence, at different periods of its exist-

ence, present themselves to my mind as fit objects of historical discussion.

"But I forbear, from not having any knowledge of the ends for which your Society has been established, and I conclude with expressing my most ardent wishes, that the offspring of Great Britain may be as illustrious in the peaceful arts of life, as the mother from whom she has sprung has long been; and that she may be more fortunate than her parent has been, in escaping the calamity of frequent wars, principally occasioned by the avarice of commerce, and the ambition of despotism; and that she may be more fortunate also in escaping that excess of wealth which, by introducing luxury, undermines the probity of individuals, enervates the physical strength of nations, and subverts the freest constitutions. I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

I afterwards learned, by a letter from Mr. Buckminster, dated July 6th, 1807, that the Massachusetts Historical Society had been instituted about twelve years ago, in consequence of the exertions of some

clergymen of Boston, especially of Dr. Belknap, author of two accurate and interesting volumes of American Biography, of the History of New Hampshire, and of several Historical Tracts; that the enquiries of the Society had been entirely confined to American History, and peculiarly to that of the American States; that there were already published eleven volumes of its collections, consisting of curious and scarce Tracts, manuscript and printed; Topographical Descriptions; Letters and Communications, relating to the Aborigines of the Country, and illustrating its earlier annals; and papers of various kinds, which had much increased the stock of materials for the future historian of the Western World. That this Society had undoubtedly been the most industrious, and perhaps not the least useful, of the New England Literary Associations.

Extract of a Letter to the Duke of Grafton, dated Calgarth, July, 1807, *who had sent me a despairing Account of himself.*

"On my return to this place, I met with your obliging letter, and am sincerely sorry

to find, that my apprehensions respecting your health were not unfounded.

"Your body cannot be in better hands than in those of your physician, nor your mind in better than in your own. Were your body in perfect health, your mind, I think, would not be disturbed by anxiety; for which, I trust, there is no reasonable ground. Divines, with the best intentions, have said more than the Scriptures have said concerning repentance, and have thereby precipitated men into despair, and consequent impenitence and hardness of heart. The state of a man, who having left off sinful habits returns to them again, is certainly dangerous, because it shows the strength of habit to be superior to his resolution; but I do not know that it is any where represented in Scripture as desperate, and a return to virtue as impossible; for neither Heb. x. 38, nor 2 Pet. ii. 20, 21, though referred to by Tillotson on this point, will bear out the conclusion.

"I dislike extremely that gloomy theology, which would make the Supreme Being more inexorable than a man: the whole tenour of Scripture speaks a contrary lan-

guage; and we know nothing from *reason* of his divine attributes, except from their bearing some analogy to our own. Now, what father of a family would say to a repentant son, "Your repentance comes too late, and I will never forgive you." The father may suspect the sincerity of his son's repentance, and from that suspicion may withhold his forgiveness; but God cannot suspect, for he knows our repentance to be sincere, or otherwise; and if sincere, I trust he will, of his fatherly clemency, accept our repentance, though we may have swerved from the rectitude of former resolutions.

"Repentance is a change of principle, accompanied by a change of conduct; we may be snatched away, and have no opportunity of proving the sincerity of our principle by our practice; but God, who knows things that would be, as if they were, will judge of the sincerity or insincerity of our principle, by what would happen; and if our μετανοια be, at any time of life, even after repeated lapses, in his judgment, sincere, I see no ground in reason or Scripture for despairing of his forgiveness.

AHARAJA SERFOGI

"In thinking of our Heavenly Father, we ought to bear in mind the answer which our Saviour made to Peter's question:— "Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him?" The answer, though it gives no encouragement to presumptuous sinners, gives great comfort to such a creature as man, whose life is spent in sinning, and in being sorry for his sin. I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Letter to the Duke of Grafton, July 18th, 1807.

"My dear Lord Duke,

"As to our prospects, nothing can be worse; but since you wish to know what I think ought to be done, I send Your Grace my opinion, independent of all party. My opinion is, that Catholics and Dissenters ought to have all civil privileges conceded to them with a cordiality of sincere affection; that the Volunteers should be put in good humour, by being thanked by both Houses of Parliament, and requested again to come forward for the resistance of *actual* invasion; that all the males in the

empire, from eighteen to forty-five years of age, not enrolled as Volunteers or serving as Regulars, should be immediately called forth, classed, and taught the use of arms, and incorporated as they became fit, with the Regulars; that, above all other things, an administration should be formed of men of military knowledge and statesman-like knowledge, and not of men who, as Cicero has it, — *Ad honores adipiscendos et ad rempublicam gerendam nudi veniunt, nulla cognitione rerum nullâ scientiâ ornati.* In my time, I have known no lawyer (first Lord Camden excepted) deserving the name of a statesman, and yet I have known lawyers more deserving that appellation than either of those who now preside in the cabinet. I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Letter to a Friend, on his asking my Opinion on the Death of his Mother, whether we should know one another in a future State.

"My dear Sir,

"Our Saviour has said, that "We shall be like the angels of God," immortal; yet

St. John has said, "It doth not yet appear what we shall be:" there is no contradiction in this. We are sure of immortal life; but the connexions, habits, relations, intercourses of that life, are not revealed to us. I dare not speak with confidence on a subject whereon St. John professes his ignorance.

"Had you asked me whether we should in a future state experience pain, and sorrow, and death, I should have answered, No. Had you asked me whether we should retain a memory of our good and bad deeds, I should have answered, Yes;—because I am certain that the righteous Judge will give such a righteous judgment, that every individual will have a consciousness of its rectitude. But when you ask me, whether we shall know one another in a future state, I hesitate in my reply; and as we say in the University, when there are not arguments of sufficient weight to make our judgment preponderate on either side, I say, *Non liquet*. To be serious, all that can be certainly known on the subject is this,—That God will not withhold from those whom he adopts as his sons, any thing which can

contribute to their happiness; and if the earthly attachments formed in this first scene of existence will contribute to our happiness, they will be continued to us, and that continuance implies a future recognition of beloved connexions. Yet, on the other hand, it may be said, if we know our friends, and retain sentiments of affection for them, we must also know our enemies, and thus be again exposed to emotions of fear, dislike, aversion; but in a future state we expect freedom from bad passions, and real tranquillity of mind; and it is probable that human affections will be absorbed in the love of God and of our Saviour.

"The strongest text for our mutual knowledge in a future state, occurs in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, chap. ii. ver. 19, where Paul says, that "They will be his hope, his joy, his crown of glorying in the presence of Jesus Christ at his coming."

"There is a similar expression, 2 Cor. chap. i. ver. 14.

"From these passages it may, perhaps, be justly inferred that Paul expected to

know personally those whom he had converted to Christianity. I am, &c.

"R. L."

Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated Dec. 8, 1807, who in a circular Letter had desired me to send him some Account of the Schools in my Diocese.

"My Lord Archbishop,

"ACCORDING to my promise I now transmit to Your Grace the best account which I can obtain of the Schools in my diocese. In eighty-five parishes there are public schools, and in fifteen of these, more than one;—in eighty-seven parishes there are no public schools; and from thirty-six my Registrar has not procured any answer to the enquiries which I directed him to make. There are very few, if any, Catholics in the county of Glamorgan, but many in Monmouthshire, though only one school for Catholics, which is kept by a woman, who admits Protestant children, and teaches them (as she says) our Catechism. There are very many Methodists, Anabaptists, Independents, &c., but only few Presbyte-

rians, in Monmouthshire: there are, however, no schools wherein the children of these various Dissenters are taught separately from the children of the Established Church.

"In addition to the public schools, there are many private schools in my diocese, not a few of them consisting of thirty children or more. Many of these private schools are supported by voluntary contribution; and of these, where the parents are obliged to pay for their children's schooling, the price is from two-pence halfpenny to three-pence a week; and for this they are taught reading, writing, the two or three first rules in arithmetic, and in general the Church Catechism.

"If Your Grace will permit me to deliver my opinion on this subject, I think that the education of the children of the poor is a matter well deserving the consideration of Government, inasmuch as a proper education of the lower classes is amongst them, as amongst all others, the parent of piety and of good morals. But I think, at the same time, that an education suited to the circumstances and situation of the chil-

dren of the poor, is in very few, if in any, parts of Great Britain so neglected as to require the interposition of the legislature to compel a general amendment of it.

"It is computed that there are nine births to two marriages; now there are very few parents, comparatively speaking, among the peasants or manufacturers of the country, who cannot spare from their earnings three-pence a week, for two or three years, to each of their four or five children for their education; and where they cannot afford even such a pittance for such a purpose, I think so well of mankind as to believe, that it would be voluntarily supplied to them by their richer neighbours, if, from their sobriety and industry, they appeared to be deserving objects of benevolence and beneficence.

"Your Grace, without doubt, will have seen a printed letter, addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of England and Ireland, respecting a recent re-publication of "Ward's Errata" of the Protestant Bible. Doctor Ryan, the author of this letter, declares that he is preparing an answer to Ward's book; and this declaration will

prevent me from attempting to answer it, should I, on perusing, judge it entitled to serious animadversion. In this retirement, indeed, I am not, for want of books, well furnished for such an undertaking, yet here I wrote my answer to Paine; and here, had not the ground been pre-occupied, I would have entered the lists with the Catholic champions of "Ward's Errata," in support of the Protestant Establishment, though I certainly do not (as Dr. Ryan somewhat illiberally intimates that we *all* do) owe the little fortune I possess to the Church.

"In the answer which I sent, Nov. 28th, to the Doctor's letter, is the following paragraph, which he may perhaps interpret as proceeding from episcopal *supineness*, but which Your Grace will more reasonably refer to my desire of abating the too violent effervescence of his own zeal.

"'I am extremely sorry that the Catho-'lics are, at this time, reviving a contro-'versy which can have no favourable issue 'even to themselves; but which, unless it 'be carried on by both parties with a zeal 'for nothing but truth, and in a spirit of

'sincere Christian charity, may have con-
'sequences dangerous to public tranquil-
'lity.' I am,

"Your Grace's most obedient servant,
"R. LANDAFF."

The paper alluded to in this letter, was directed to the Archbishops and Bishops of England and Ireland, in the following terms:—

"I think it my duty to acquaint the heads of our Church with a book lately published in Dublin, entitled "Ward's Errata of the Protestant Bible." This book was first published in England, in the year 1688; but never was answered: its author possessed such talents, that Archbishop Tenison attacked his "Monomachia," though an anonymous tract! But his chief work was his "Errata;" an infamous libel on the Protestant Bible, and now brought forward as an unanswerable production. In this work the translators of our Bible are charged with adding to the sacred text; with altering or corrupting it in more than one hundred and thirty places; and with

doing so not from negligence, ignorance, oversight, or mistake, but designedly, wilfully, and maliciously, to impose on the weak by a corrupt, imperfect, and partial translation. This and other writings of Ward were so hostile to the feelings of English Protestants, to the Protestant establishment, and perhaps to the laws, that he fled from England to France, and died there. Yet this work was re-published in Dublin last month, under the patronage of several Romish clergymen: one hundred and ten of whom are subscribers to it! Two thousand copies of this thin quarto were printed by Coyne, East Arran Street, Dublin: Keating and Brown, booksellers, Duke Street, Grosvenor square, London, subscribed for one thousand of them; and the book is sold in Cork, Limerick, and in every town of the smallest consequence in Ireland. I am preparing an answer to this book; but much better answers may be expected from such of the bishops and clergy as possess more leisure, more information, and better talents than I. The most supine bishop will be roused to a degree of zeal on seeing a libel on his Bible,

by which he hopes for salvation, and on his Church, to which he owes his rank and fortune.

"EDWARD RYAN.

"William Street, Dublin, Nov. 1807.

"My answer will be anonymous."

This was written but not printed.

Though the following letter from a clergyman near Bath, with whom I had no acquaintance, is far too complimentary to myself, yet as the subject of it is of importance, I shall do religion no disservice in publishing it and my answer to it. I received it in December, 1807.

"My Lord,

"No writer of the present day has, in my opinion, done so much credit to the cause of Christianity as Your Lordship. Yours are the only writings I ever read which contain that dignified liberality of mind, which is so peculiarly the characteristic of Christianity: they possess, likewise, a warmth and a zeal which might be thought incompatible with that liberal

temper of mind which you possess; for liberality is often thought to be another name for indifference. I take the liberty of addressing your Lordship, because I am persuaded that you are zealous in the cause of Christianity, and because I think that you are its ablest defender now alive. I wish to call Your Lordship's attention to a book which is now very generally read, and which Your Lordship may have seen, "An Essay on Population," by Mr. Malthus. It is a book which, in my opinion, endeavours to establish a code of morality in opposition to the morality of the Gospel. To me it appears the most insidious attack ever made on Christianity, though the author pretends to be a Christian divine. As Your Lordship has answered those writers who have endeavoured to undermine the doctrines of Christianity, perhaps you will shew the same zeal in defending its moral precepts. The design of the present letter is to prevail on Your Lordship to answer Mr. Malthus.

"If my sentiments should not happen to meet with Your Lordship's approbation; if you should think favourably of Mr. Mal-

thus; it would give me infinite satisfaction to hear the grounds on which Your Lordship thinks his Essay can be justified, and on which it can be reconciled to the spirit of Christianity; for to me they appear so much at variance that I am compelled to give up either the one or the other. I speak not of Mr. Malthus's book merely as a theory which may do mischief in the world, but as a theory which has already done incalculable mischief within my own knowledge: it has brought benevolence into contempt: in a country where this book is in high estimation, the justices look upon it as an act of virtue to depress the poor: to assist the poor in a time of scarcity is thought to be the extreme of folly. A man who would think of doing so is said to have "high-flying notions about benevolence." If a poor man be ever so industrious, it matters not; if he be found guilty of having a large family, no other accusation is required. He ought to suffer for his own imprudence, they say, lest a famine should be the consequence.

"A very little eloquence is necessary in order to make us love ourselves, and to

keep what we have. Mr. Malthus has applied to the weak side of human nature, and it is not wonderful that he has so much prevailed. He tells the rich that the poor have no right to live; (or, as he would say, no right to subsistence when they cannot obtain it by their labour;) the rich are very ready to believe his doctrine; and he is now so much read and so much esteemed, that no man but a man of eminence and superior talents can effectually counteract the notions which he has disseminated.

"This book has, indeed, been answered, but merely by politicians who seem ashamed of Christianity; and, as a politician, I know not that Mr. Malthus can be completely answered.

"With the greatest respect,

"I am your most obedient servant,

"* * *.

"I take the liberty of adding my direction."

I immediately returned the following answer, having no disposition to enter into a controversy with Mr. Malthus, and thinking it impossible that there should be

either justices or rich men such as are described in the letter.

"Calgarth Park, Dec. 19, 1807.

"Rev. Sir,

"Your apprehensions that mischief may arise to religion and morals from the circulation of Mr. Malthus's book, (which I never read,) are probably well founded, and your anxiety that a proper answer should be given to it is certainly creditable to yourself, and highly becoming your function. That you think so well of me as to wish for my animadversions on this book, I consider as a valuable compliment to myself, to which I sincerely wish I had better pretensions.

"Though I have not read this book, I have looked into it: but perceiving that the author was endeavouring to shew the utility of bringing down the population of the earth to the level of the subsistence requisite for the support of man, (a proposition wanting no proof, since where there is no food man must die,) I thought his time and talents would have been better employed in the investigation of the means of

increasing the subsistence to the level of the population; and I laid the book aside.

"I thought myself justified in thus neglecting to peruse a book thwarting the strongest propensity of human nature, and contradicting the most express command of God, "Increase and multiply;" especially as I was persuaded that the earth had not in the course of six thousand years from the creation ever been replenished with any thing like one half the number of inhabitants it would sustain. I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

I had long *suspected* that I was, from I know not what *just* cause, obnoxious to the court; but I did not, till after the archbishoprick of York had been given to the Bishop of Carlisle, *know* that I had been proscribed many years before. By a letter from a noble friend, the Duke of Grafton, dated 10th of December, 1807, I was informed that one of the most respectable earls in the kingdom, who had long known my manner of life, on a vacancy of the mastership of Trinity College, had gone of his own accord (and without his ever men-

tioning the circumstance to me) to Mr. Pitt, stating what just pretensions I had to the offer of it; that Mr. Pitt concurred with him, but said that a *certain person* would not hear of it. Ought I to question the veracity of Mr. Pitt? No, I cannot do it. What then ought I to say of a certain person who had repeatedly signified to *me* his high approbation of my publications, and had been repeatedly heard to say to *others*, that the Bishop of Landaff had done more in support of religion than any bishop on the bench? I ought to say with St. Paul, *Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.*

Notwithstanding this anecdote, I cannot bring myself to believe that the King was either the first projector or the principal actor in the sorry farce of neglecting a man whom they could not dishonour, of distressing a man whom they could not dispirit, which has been playing at court for near twenty-six years.

But be the *dramatis personæ* whom they may, the curtain which will close the scene

is fast falling both on them and me; and I hope so to attemper my feelings of the wrong they have not wilfully, perhaps, but unadvisedly done me, as to be able at the opening of the next act to embrace them with Christian charity and unfeigned good will; for the detestable maxim, *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare,* will not be heard of in heaven. The knowledge, that the neglect I had suffered was rather owing to the will of the monarch than to the ill will of the minister, gave me pleasure. It removed in a degree from my mind a suspicion which I had long reluctantly entertained, that Mr. Pitt had always been my enemy. I did not expect, indeed, that any minister would be very zealous in promoting a man who professed and practised parliamentary and personal independence; but Mr. Pitt had been under obligations to me, and he knew that I had always been the warm friend of his warm friend the Duke of Rutland: and I was unwilling to suppose him capable of forgetting either obligations or connexions in the pursuit of his ambition.

As to the King's dislike of me, unless his

education had made him more of a Whig, it was natural enough. My declared opposition to the increased and increasing influence of the crown had made a great impression on His Majesty's mind; for on the day I did homage he asked the Duke of Rutland if his friend the Bishop of Landaff was not a great enemy to the influence of the crown; saying, at the same time, that he wished he had not a place of two hundred a-year to give away. I presume not to question the truth of this declaration of His Majesty, but I speak with some certainty of the truth of the Duke of Rutland's reply,—"That the Bishop of Landaff was an enemy to the increase of the influence of the crown, from an apprehension that it would undermine the constitution." This apprehension was not then unfounded, nor has it since then been lessened, but greatly augmented, especially by the enormous augmentation of the national debt.

Though it was not convenient to me to take a journey to London in order to attend my duty in parliament at the opening of the session in 1808, yet I was so alarmed at the danger in which the country

then stood, that I wished to make a little effort to assist it, and I wrote the following letter with an intention of sending it to Lord Camden (then President of the Council) as a private communication; but fearing lest the design of writing to a minister, though I was well acquainted with him, should have been misinterpreted into a desire of courting his favour, I changed the beginning of it, and sent it to a man whose honour and talents I greatly respected,—Earl Moira.

"Calgarth Park, Feb. 16, 1808.

"My dear Lord,

"In sitting down to congratulate you (which I do with great sincerity) on the birth of your son, I will take the opportunity of sending you my sentiments on the state of public affairs; for though I am buried in the mountains of Westmoreland, I am not inattentive to what is passing in that part of the world with which I am connected.

"It is now three years ago since I said in my place in the House of Lords, 'The die is in the air which, in its fall, will indi-

cate the ruin of Buonaparte or of Britain; and the consequent reduction of France within its ancient limits, or the reduction of all Europe under the military yoke of France.' This prediction, vain as it was then thought, is now in part fulfilled;—— is in part fallen;—Europe, the whole continent of Europe, is enslaved, and the ruin of Britain is, I fear, impending. There are many causes from which I think this ruin is impending.

"1st. From disunion amongst ourselves. A third part of the people composing the empire think that in their civil rights they are ill treated. I do not mean to enter into the question whether the Catholics in Ireland and the Dissenters in England think on this subject rightly or not; the fact, I believe, cannot be doubted, that they do think so: this thought has weakened, and will continue to weaken, and will at length destroy the means of our defence against France.

"2d. From the desertion of our allies. In all the wars which we have waged with France, from the age of Lewis the Fourteenth to the present time, we have had

continental allies; we now have none, or next to none. The most powerful even of those we formerly had not only has deserted us, but is gone over to our enemy; either compelled thereto by his fears, or, which is more probable, seduced thereto by prospects of advantage held out to him at Tilsit. This former ally now speaks to us in an imperious language, sufficiently indicative of his secret engagements with Buonaparte, and not to be endured by us as a great and independent nation, only it may be found consistent with good policy to dissemble our resentment, till we can show it in something more effectual than in diplomatic disgust. *He pre-engages, he proclaims, he demands, he declares, he expects,* he will not be *satisfied,* till all the points he so unequivocally mentions are granted. This language he would not have used, had he longer respected our friendship.

"3d. From the detestation in which our treatment of neutral nations is held by all the maritime states of Europe. About fifty years ago Mr. Jenkinson (now Lord Liverpool) published an ingenious pamphlet on this subject: I perused it at the

time of its first publication, and have often considered it since, but have always had great difficulty in admitting its conclusion on the broad basis of natural justice, rather than on that of ancient usage, or compulsatory convention. It was in 1780, when this country was distressed by the American war, that the Empress Catherine, taking advantage of our situation, formed what has been called the Armed Neutrality; from the principles of which the Emperor of Russia now declares that he will never depart. The formation of this novel system under the auspices of Russia twenty-eight years ago, and now avowedly adhered to, indubitably shows in what detestation our maritime code is held by other nations.

"I am far from saying that such detestation is a reason for our changing the system under which we have so long prospered: but I do say that it is a solid reason for reconsidering, with the utmost impartiality, whether it is founded in justice, and if not founded in justice, for relinquishing it; for prosperity founded in injustice is never lasting. But should it, on reconsi-

deration, be deemed founded in justice, there would still be reason for solemn deliberation, whether, in the present state of Europe and of America, it might not be more expedient for us to consent to some modification of it, or even to give it up entirely, than to risk our existence as a nation by maintaining it. *Nations as well as individuals often promote their interests more fundamentally, by abandoning than by enforcing their rights.* To persevere in a sameness of conduct when a change of circumstances (such as the annihilation of the balance of power in Europe; such as a combination of all the powers of Europe against us; such as the rise of a new power in America, which in less than a century will be superior to all other powers,) renders a change of conduct expedient, is a great political error.

"This error often proceeds from a want of discernment, in not seasonably observing the change of circumstances, and foreseeing the consequences likely to attend it; and often also from an ill judged notion of there being a degree of dishonour in a change of conduct. The *idem manebat,*

neque tamen idem decebat, is an unperceived rock on which the fortunes of kings, as well as of private persons, have been often shipwrecked. It was the rock on which Charles the First perished. He did not perceive that, though he governed the same people nominally that his ancestors had done, their understandings, manners, principles, were essentially changed. It was the rock on which Britain split, and lost America: we did not advert to the difference between young colonies which wanted our protection, and grown up colonies which were able to protect themselves.

"4th. From the inveteracy of Buonaparte. Of this inveteracy there are two causes: the hope of becoming popular in France by adopting the ancient prejudices, and encouraging the ancient rivalry of his nation against us.

"The fear, lest the asylum which we have so honourably afforded to the royal family of France, should ultimately endanger his usurpation.

"This sort of fear accompanies all usurpers. Buonaparte's enmity to us is an exact counterpart of Cromwell's enmity to

the Dutch, with whom he would not make peace, but upon the express conditions of their abandoning the interests of Charles the Second, and stipulating to receive no exile from England into their dominions. Justice, no doubt, does not oblige us to protect others to our own ruin, especially as we neither are nor ever have been connected with them by ancient bonds of amity or by positive alliance; but honour, and humanity, and Christian commiseration, do require us to assist the unfortunate princes, who, being rudely driven from all other countries, have sought a refuge in our own.

"Peace, a permanent and an advantageous peace, might, I am of opinion, be now made, did we honestly engage to acknowledge his title, and to give no assistance to the exiled family, either by fomenting internal dissensions in France, or forming external alliances in their favour, and to expel them from the dominions of the King. Though I wish for peace, my mind is not yet so humbled by apprehensions, as to wish for it on such terms.

"We are accused of being disturbers of

the Continent. If to oppose the desolating progress of insatiable ambition and unprincipled rapacity; if to preserve ourselves and others, by making continental alliances, from being swallowed up in the gulf of universal empire, be to become disturbers of the Continent, then are we rightly accused. We are accused of being the tyrants of the seas. If to preserve ourselves from invasion by blocking up in their ports the fleets of our enemies, and fighting them when they venture out, be to become tyrants of the seas, then do we merit the appellation. In this kind of tyranny our national safety does and ever must consist. I wish that we may always have a fleet superior to the united fleets of Europe; and I wish, too, that such a fleet may never be used for any purpose beyond or beside the purpose of self-defence. All irritating insolence towards neutral nations, all unprovoked aggression of nations in alliance with us, all jealousy of trade, all monopoly of commerce, all assumption of questionable rights, all enforcement of disputable claims, should even, with such a fleet, be utterly rejected by us.

" We are accused of having established a commercial despotism. I hope the accusation is not just; for I abhor from my heart every species of despotism, civil, religious, and commercial. Despotism consists in the physical exercise of power, without moral right; it is an offence against natural justice; it is a degradation of the dignity of human nature, and ought not on any occasion to be either practised or submitted to. But in what does this imputed commercial despotism consist? Does it consist in this, that our manufacturers are more ingenious and more industrious than the manufacturers of any other country? Is it a violation of the law of nations in us, that our merchants can offer to the inhabitants of Europe, of America, of every quarter of the globe, our woollens, cottons, linens, hardware, pottery, a thousand necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of civil society, without compelling a single individual to purchase a single article? Is it commercial despotism in us that we can furnish foreign countries with better goods at a cheaper rate, and with a larger credit than they themselves can either make them or pro-

cure them elsewhere?—If this be commercial despotism, I cannot wish to see an end of it; for it excites the emulation, and calls forth the industry of other nations, and thereby turns men's minds from the madness of ambition, and the devastation of warfare, to the cultivation of the arts of peace.

"Our enemy says that he wants ships, colonies, and commerce. Let him build his ships, plant his colonies, extend his commerce; but let him not envy us the possession of ours, nor stigmatise us as tyrants of the seas, because we defend what we possess. The earth is not half inhabited, the part which is inhabited is not half civilised, the part which is civilised is not half cultivated; there is room enough for the agricultural industry, scope enough for the commercial enterprise, employment enough for the manufacturing skill of France, and of all other nations as well as of our own. I have no fear for the commerce of Great Britain, though we should suffer other nations to participate in the wealth to be derived from commerce, though we should allow to the utmost ex-

tent, which could in time of war be reasonably demanded, free bottoms to make free goods.

" Buonaparte says in the face of Europe that he wishes for peace, and I am disposed to credit his assertions; for inordinate as his ambition is, it is regulated by his interest, and his interest clearly consists in the stability of his usurpation,—and the only visible bar to that stability is the war with Great Britain.

" Ambition is the characteristic of a vigorous mind; it then only becomes a vice when the means it uses or the end it pursues are unjust.

" Were I in the place of the Bishop of Autun, I should think that I atoned for half my sins, did I at length point out to this extraordinary man the road to real glory; did I say to him,—Of military achievement and martial glory, you have had enough to enable you to sustain a proud comparison, if not with the Alexanders, the Cæsars, the Tamerlanes, of ancient story, certainly with the Peters, the Charles's, the Fredericks, of more modern times: there is a species of glory now within your reach, by which you would

surpass them all; it consists in the magnanimity of moderation. Would you now restore the throne of France to its lawful owner, under such limitations of regal power as would secure the liberty and happiness of his people; would you now establish among the continental states you have conquered, such a civil constitution as might put an end to the recurrence of war, by extinguishing as they arose the first sparks of dissension among them; would you now like Washington return to a private station; you would merit and you would obtain real glory, the approbation of the good and wise. Instead of the execration, you would be blessed with the applause of the present, and the admiration of all future ages. May God touch your heart with this sentiment, and, touching it, forgive all your transgressions!

"I presume not to give advice in this crisis of our destiny, and in fact I have none to give different from what I gave five years ago, in a publication (intended speech) respecting four important points; if to these I could add a fifth, it would be, to enter as speedily as possible into an alliance, cordial, sincere, offensive, and de-

fensive with America.—Pardon, my dear Lord, the trouble I have given you, and accept the best wishes on all occasions, of

"Your faithful and affectionate servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

In the course of this session, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, moved thereto by a benevolent intention, but with little knowledge of the subject, introduced into the House of Commons a Bill—"For making more effectual provision for the maintenance of stipendiary curates in England (including Wales), and for their residence on their cures." Thinking this bill to be wholly inadequate to the purpose of effecting that reform in the church which I had long judged necessary, I sent the two following letters. It was not, in truth, without great reluctance that I interfered in this business; for I was not insensible that I had been injured by the unmerited proscription of the court for six-and-twenty years.

Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, May 18, 1808.

"My Lord Archbishop,

"UNDERSTANDING that a bill is now

pending in parliament respecting a material change in the Church-Establishment, and not finding it convenient to come to London this year, I will trouble Your Grace with a short letter on the occasion.

"Long before I was a bishop I entertained a deliberate opinion that some things respecting the discipline, some respecting the doctrine, and some respecting the distribution of the revenues of the church, might be innovated with great advantage to religion, and with perfect safety to the establishment. I gave to the public my sentiments on the last of these points, in a letter to the then Archbishop of Canterbury: and I have not, during the twenty-six years that I have been Bishop of Landaff, seen any reason to alter my opinion.

"I know that I have been represented as a dangerous man, and eager for reform. This neither is, nor ever was, any part of my character. I scorn, indeed, to be held back by any prospects of interest from declaring my real sentiments on any subject of policy or religion; but I am satisfied with having done that, and willingly concede to others that liberty of judging which I claim for myself. Having said

this, I trust Your Grace will pardon my stating my opinion on the present subject, though it should chance to be different from your own.

"I am not then of opinion that it is either for the honour of the bench, or for the stability of the Church-Establishment, or the good of the state, that the present bill, respecting stipendiary curates, should pass into a law. I will not enlarge on any of these heads, but mention what I think to be a great error, both in the new Residence-Bill of Sir William Scott, and in this Bill.

"The two gentlemen who planned these bills have, I am persuaded, the best intentions towards the church, but they have erred in having had recourse to palliatives in a case where a radical cure was required.

"The logical maxim, *sublatâ causâ tollitur effectus*, is applicable to the non-residence of the clergy and to the poverty of stipendiary curates. The principal cause of both these evils, is the allowing the clergy to hold more livings than one. Take away pluralities, and there will be few stipendiary curates. Build at the public ex-

pense parsonage-houses, and there will be few non-resident clergy. If it be not thought right to build parsonage-houses at the public expense, let the livings, where houses are wanted, be sequestered, both in this country and in Ireland, as they become vacant; and with the aid of Queen Anne's bounty, in addition to the monies arising from the sequestrations, let parsonage-houses be provided at the expense of the church itself.

"Pluralities are become necessary on account of the poverty of the greatest part of the parish-churches and chapels. This poverty arises from the appropriations and the impropriations which were improvidently granted at the Reformation, but which ought not now to be disturbed. What is wanted to make up the small benefices to at least 100*l.* a-year, must be supplied from the public grants.

"A petition was exhibited to the parliament and Cromwell for the taking away of tithes, in 1652: in the answer to this petition it is said,—There are in England and Wales 9,725 parishes, and though one-half of those rectories were not appropriated as

to the number, yet certainly as to the yearly values, the ministers, at this day, have not one-half of the profits of corn and grain. I could produce many other proofs of the inadequacy of the maintenance provided for the parochial clergy, and show how much the ancient provision for them is now consumed in other ways, and as matters stand, not improperly consumed; and I cannot help thinking that the provision of two thousand a-year, which I possess from the church, is a case full in point.

"It arises from the tithes of two churches in Shropshire, of two in Leicestershire, of two in my diocese, of three in Huntingdonshire, on all of which I have resident curates; of five more as appropriations to the bishoprick, and of two more in the Isle of Ely, as appropriations to the archdeaconry of Ely. I mention not this as a matter of complaint, but as a proof how little palliations will avail in amending the situation of the stipendiary curates.

"I have the honour, &c.

"R. Landaff."

I wrote also, June 21st, to Mr. Percival,

the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had introduced this Bill, the following note:—

"Sir,

"THE Stipendiary Curates' Bill is so far advanced that any observations which I could make respecting it could not now be of use; and I know the value of your time too well to think of wasting it in unserviceable discussions.

"You will pardon me, I hope, for saying that I do not expect much beneficial consequence from what you have taken the most laudable pains in bringing forward; because the number of livings above 400*l.* a-year, compared with the number below that sum, is very small indeed; and the number of non-resident clergy on such livings is still less than the number of the livings themselves.

"To Sir William Scott and yourself the country is much indebted for your endeavours to remedy a great evil; but the evil I think is too great to be remedied by palliatives. In an appendix to my volumes of Sermons and Tracts, published by Cadell

in 1788, there are some observations on this subject.

"I am ashamed to make this reference; but a sincere wish to give, in any shape, my poor assistance towards effecting an ecclesiastical reform, must be my excuse.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

This Bill was passed by the House of Commons; but on the third reading (June 30,) was rejected, without a division, by the Lords, notwithstanding its being then supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.

Letter to the Duke of Grafton, June 28, 1808, *on his having sent me a very valuable Book.*

"My dear Lord Duke,

"I sit down to thank Your Grace for your kind attention in sending me *The improved Version of the New Testament.* I have looked into it with care, and have met with in it what I expected, and what, indeed, must ever accompany all translations, many places in which the sense of the original

author still remains ambiguous. Murphy's translation of Tacitus differs from Gordon's, though both these writers were free from the bias of pre-conceived opinions, which must almost necessarily occupy the minds of translators of the New Testament.

"I will give only one instance of this in the present work, though, strictly speaking, it is an instance rather of what some will think a wrong interpretation than of a wrong translation: it occurs in Matt. xi. 27:—"*No one knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father but the Son.*" Wakefield's translation is:—"No one can acknowledge the Son but the Father, &c.;" for which the text gives no authority. This translation is rejected both by Newcome and by the authors of the improved version; but these latter have added an explanatory note. The meaning is, that no one but the Father can fully comprehend the subject and extent of the Son's commission; and no one but the Son comprehends the counsels and designs of the Father, with respect to the instruction and reformation of mankind. I do not take upon me to say, that this is a wrong inter-

pretation of our Saviour's meaning, when he spoke the words, "No one knoweth, &c." Nor if any one should, instead of the *instruction* and *reformation*, have said the *salvation* and *redemption*, of mankind, durst I have said that his interpretation had been erroneous. The parallel place in Luke, x. 22, stands thus:—"*No one knoweth who the Son* IS *but the Father, and who the Father* IS *but the Son.*" If any one should contend from these expressions, that no one but the Father and the Son is capable of comprehending the nature of the *sonship* of the one, or the *paternity* of the other, I durst not have said that his interpretation of Luke had been a bad one.

"The fact is, that I was early in life accustomed to mathematical discussion, and the certainty attending it; and not meeting with that certainty in the science of metaphysics, of natural or revealed religion, I have an habitual tendency to an hesitation of judgment, rather than to a peremptory decision on many points. But I pray God to pardon this my wavering in less essential points, since it proceeds not from any immoral propensity, and is attended by a

firm belief of a resurrection and a future state of retribution, as described in the Gospels.

"I give due praise to the Committee for their introduction to this work; it is written with the sincerity becoming a Christian, and with the erudition becoming a translator and a commentator on so important a book. I am happy to find that the name of the Duke of Grafton is mentioned as it ought to be in the introduction: His Grace's distinguished patronage of Griesbach is properly estimated by the present age, and it will still be more highly estimated by posterity. I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Letter to Dr. Falconer, on his sending me his Observations on the Words which the Centurion uttered at the Crucifixion of Christ.

"July 12, 1808.

"My dear Sir,

"I THANK you for your criticism, which is ingenious, and to many will be convincing. The Roman soldiers who attended the crucifixion had probably heard how tauntingly the great men of the Jews had mocked Jesus as he hung upon the cross,

for having said Θεȣ ειμι υιος; and being frightened by the earthquake, they boldly, and perhaps in the hearing of the Jews, contradicted their accusation of Jesus being a blasphemer, and declared that αληθως Θεȣ υιος ην ȣτος, hoping it may be to atone, as it were, by this declaration, for the insults which they themselves had offered him.

"Whether the Roman Centurion and the Jewish High Priest annexed the same ideas to the words Θεȣ υιος must ever remain, I think, amongst the harmless *dubia Evangelica* which occur in many parts of Scripture. Pilate indeed knew, that by υιος Θεȣ the Jews understood Χριστος, and the Roman Centurion may have known as much of Jewish theology as Pilate did; for all Roman centurions were not so ignorant and incurious as Persius describes them generally to have been, when he says:—

> "Hic aliquis de gente hircosâ centurionum
> Dicat: quod satis est sapio mihi; non ego curo
> Esse quod Arcesilas ærumnosique Solones."

"Yet I am not disposed to give as much weight to the testimony of the Centurion as Dr. Sherlock seems to have done.

"As to the word δικαιος, it is applied to Joseph; δικαιος ων to Zacharias and his wife, and to Simeon; to Noah, ανθρωπος δικαιος τελειος ων, to so many persons, and on such a variety of occasions, that I cannot help thinking, that the Centurion, when he applied it to Jesus, had no particular reference to his *divine* character or nature, but merely to his being a good man, in testimony of whose goodness God had so miraculously interfered.

"To a mind less liberal than your own, I should not have ventured to write so freely; but I know you expect this from me, who am with sincerity and real respect,

"Your obliged servant,

"R. Landaff."

The Duke of Grafton, to whom I had signified my intention of not going to London, on account of the expense attending the journey, kindly pressed me, on private and public grounds, to reconsider the matter. In my letter to him, December 14th, 1808, after thanking him for his attention, I added:—"I allow my eldest son 700*l.* a-year, and I intend to make up to him the

difference between his half-pay and his full pay. I trouble you with these particulars, because I am anxious that you should approve my conduct; and I have no doubt of your thinking I discharge a father's duty better, in supporting the spirits of a son depressed by declining health, and in administering to the comforts of himself and his family, by supplying to him the loss of income which his misfortune has occasioned, than by indulging myself in a journey to London. Notwithstanding this, I feel and adopt the sentiment of Cicero, in preferring the love of my country to every other connexion; and if there was any probability of my advice being attended to in this crisis of our destiny, I would take my seat; but I five years ago publicly declared my opinion on four measures essential, as appeared to me, to our safety as a nation. Had any one of these measures been taken up by any administration, we should have been in a less perilous situation than we now are; had all of them been brought forward, we might have withstood the united attack of all Europe. We should now have had an addition to the regular

army of 250,000 young men, instructed in the use of arms; our debt would have been discharged; the Catholics in Ireland would have been cordially attached to us; the Dissenters in England would have had no just cause of complaint. It is the part of an honest man, who meddles at all in public concerns, openly and fearlessly to deliver his sentiments; but he becomes a self-sufficient man, if he does not patiently acquiesce in their being overlooked."

Letter to Lord Hawkesbury, December 18, 1808.

"My Lord,

Though I have for several years lived a retired rather than a public life, indifferent to the coalitions of parties, rather than attached to any of them, yet have I never been indifferent to the public welfare, or inattentive (as occasion offered) to the means of promoting it either in church or state. An occasion now prompts me to trouble your Lordship with a suggestion or two on a weighty subject.

"The account of the number of livings

in England and Wales, not exceeding in value 150*l.* a-year, which, at your Lordship's instance, the Bishops are now preparing to lay before the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, has excited a general expectation, that it is in the contemplation of Government to augment such livings to that sum. If this expectation is well-founded, I submit to your consideration the utility and the *practicability* of making such augmentation instrumental in improving, what some have loudly called for,—the education of the children of the lower classes.

"My opinion, indeed, on that subject, does not extend so far as that of some other men, perhaps not so far as that of Your Lordship. I venture, however, to give it, as extracted from a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, when about this time last year I sent him an account of the schools in my diocese:—'I think that the education of the children of the poor is a matter well worthy the consideration of Government, inasmuch as a proper education of the lower classes is amongst them, as amongst all others, the parent of piety and

of good morals. But I think, at the same time, that an education suited to the circumstances and situation of the poor, is in very few, if in any parts of Great Britain, so neglected, as to require the interposition of the legislature to compel a general amendment of it. It is computed, that there are nine births to two marriages. Now, there are very few parents, comparatively speaking, among the peasants or manufacturers of the country, who cannot spare from their earnings three-pence a week for two or three years, for each of their four or five children, for their education; and when they cannot afford even such a pittance for such a purpose, I think so well of mankind as to believe, that it would be voluntarily supplied to them by their richer neighbours, if from their sobriety and industry they appeared to be deserving objects of such benevolence and beneficence.'

"If the small livings were augmented to 100*l*. a-year, and no man in future (for the arrangement should have no retrospect, so as to injure any present possessor,) were permitted to hold two of them, and an ad-

ditional 50*l.* a year were given as a stipend to such incumbents as would teach schools, in such parishes and chapelries where schools were wanted, I think few of them would decline availing themselves of an opportunity of eking out a scanty income by an occupation so correspondent to their pastoral function; for surely there can be no impropriety in the minister of a parish becoming the schoolmaster of his parishioners. But if something of this kind should be thought of, would it not admit a deliberation, whether the teaching should be above three days in the week, the other three being left unengaged, not only for the convenience of the clergyman, but for that of the parents of the children, who often want their assistance, small as the assistance of young children may seem, in their domestic concerns, and agricultural operations?

"If it is intended to augment all the small livings to 150*l.* a-year, would it not be proper to begin with the small livings in the patronage of the crown? I consider this part (about one-tenth part of the whole) as a kind of public patronage not liable to be either bought or sold, and open to the

expectation of every man brought up to the Church. Now as every man must contribute in one way or other to the public purse, from which the augmentation of small livings (if any is made) must be derived, it seems to me reasonable that the augmentation of the crown livings should be first thought of.

"Lay corporations, and lay individuals, possess the patronage of above seven parts out of ten of all the livings in England and Wales. I do not mention this proportion as mathematically accurate, but it is sufficiently so for the inference which I want to draw from the mention of it. Is there either injustice or hardship in expecting that these lay patrons should lighten the public burden by their contributions to the augmentation of their own small livings? Some think that impropriators should be *compelled* to make this contribution; and the arguments which may be used on this point are far from being without weight; but I do not like reviving the obsolete claims, or prosecuting the *doubtful rights of the Church*; but surely they may be induced to come forward from a sense of their own interest, as well as from a sense of piety. The

value of the lay patronage will, in some thousands of instances, be doubled by the augmentation, and individuals may, by a sale of their patronage, immediately convert the public munificence to their own private profit.

"I can form but an uncertain conjecture of the sum which will be wanted for the augmentation of the small livings to 150*l.* a-year; but whether it may exceed or fall short of half a million, it will be so large a sum, that if it is given under the restriction of being laid out in the purchase of land, a reasonable apprehension may be raised, of too much land coming into *mortmain.*

"I heartily beg Your Lordship's pardon for this long intrusion on your time: I have made it with reluctance, for I have no wish to pry into the intentions of Government, no curiosity to gratify; and no one can be more sensible than I am, how incessantly your time is and must be occupied in matters of state peculiarly critical and important to the safety of the country.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

In May, 1809, I received a letter from Mr. Davies, to whom I had given the living of Bishopston, informing me, that he had dedicated his work, "The Mythology and Rites of the British Druids," to me.

I sent the following answer:—

"Calgarth Park, May 24, 1809.

"Rev. Sir,

"I ACCEPT with pleasure the dedication, but I have not the vanity to believe that the public will concur with you in the encomium with which you have been pleased to adorn my character.

"I received your book last night, and am persuaded that I shall peruse it with singular satisfaction; for though I make no pretensions to much knowledge in the subjects of which it treats, yet I have always been interested in Bochart's Phaleg, in Huet's Demonstration, in Bryant's Mythology, and in such other books as tend to establish a *common origin of mankind,* and the fact of an *universal deluge.*

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Having been applied to for my subscription to the erection of a statue to the memory of Mr. Locke, which had been projected by certain respectable individuals in London, I sent to Mr. Harvey Mortimer, at the Literary Fund, Gerrard Street, the subjoined letter: —

"Sir,

"Mr. Locke has, by his works, erected to himself a monument which will remain, whilst and wherever there shall remain a veneration for revealed religion, or an attachment to the civil liberty of mankind. Notwithstanding this *ære perennius monumentum*, I will contribute my mite of five guineas, towards the erecting one of more perishable materials; because it will convey an intimation to *some* amongst ourselves, and afford a proof to surrounding states, that amid all their corruptions, true patriotism and rational religion are still held in the highest estimation by the liberal and enlightened inhabitants of Great Britain.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Before the end of the session (1809), Parliament voted 100,000*l.* a-year in aid of Queen Anne's Bounty, and in June I concluded my Charge to my clergy, in which I had stated what I had written to Lord Hawkesbury in the following manner:—"I could not repress my anxiety to show you, that though I have never had any place of residence amongst you, nor a church-income sufficient to enable me to attend every year my parliamentary duty, yet have I never slept on my post, or neglected any fair opportunity of promoting that change in the church-establishment which I had not recommended many years ago, without due consideration, and which the legislature, I hope, will now finally accomplish. It is a change essential to the comfort and respectability of the greatest part of the parochial clergy, and their respectability is essential to the best interests of religion; and he must be a narrow-minded, short-sighted statesman, who does not see and acknowledge that *national morality*, proceeding from religious *principle*, is essential to the peace, the prosperity, the permanency of this and of every other

Christian country. A good beginning of this matter has been lately made in both Houses of Parliament; but if the great expense of the unfortunate war in which we have been so long engaged should hinder the legislature from at present fully, or in the best manner, accomplishing the object under consideration, it will be our duty to rest contented till a more favourable opportunity presents itself; and to rely with confidence on this persuasion, that there is not, perhaps, a single individual in either House of Parliament who is not penetrated with a sincere concern for the hardships of the inferior clergy, and heartily disposed to relieve them."

In the extensive visitation of my diocese, which I made this year, I went over the mountains from Neath to a place where no bishop had ever held a confirmation before, Merthyr Tidvil. In my time, this place had become, from a small village, a great town, containing ten or twelve thousand inhabitants, occupied in the fabrication of iron; and I thought it my duty not only to go to confirm the young people there,

but to preach to those who were grown up, that I might, if possible, leave among the inhabitants a good impression in favour of the teachers in the Established Church, when compared with those of many of the sectarian congregations into which the people were divided. I was, whilst there, most hospitably entertained and lodged by Mr. Crawshay, one of the most intelligent and opulent iron-masters in Europe. I was delighted with the knowledge I acquired from his conversation, and, in my turn, took the liberty to suggest to him some hints for further improvement in metallurgy, &c. This gentleman, in common with many others, not only of the clergy but of the laity in my diocese, expressed his astonishment at the manner in which I had been neglected by the court; and making an apology for his frankness, told me, with evident concern, that he was sure I should never be translated. With equal frankness I assured him, that I would never ask for a translation; desiring, at the same time, to know the ground of his opinion, he said, that he had been informed by the best authority (which he mentioned), that

I was considered by the court as a man of far too independent a spirit for them, and had long been put down in the Queen's Black Book. A few days before this, another gentleman who had dined with me at the visitation, at Caerleon, acquainted me, that the King had once made enquiry of him (at the levee) concerning me, and had concluded his inquisition with declaring, that I was an impracticable man.—*Impracticable!!!* I acknowledge the justness of the imputation. I have never surrendered the principles of government which I imbibed in my youth from the works of Mr. Locke, though practised upon by the courtly artifices under which the honour of political consistency usually succumbs; though assailed by the repeated flattery, and dishonoured, as some may think, by the uniform neglect of the King. I have, through the whole course of my life, never scrupled avowing my Whig principles and parliamentary independence; and as it is not unnatural for kings to suspect men of meaning more than they are willing to avow, I was not surprised or chagrined by His Majesty's neglect of me.

Men in his high situation are peculiarly liable to form wrong judgments of persons in every situation, and more especially of the characters of those whom they rarely meet with in the circles composing their courts; but I can with justice, in 1812, say to the King, what I said to Mr. Cumberland in an unpublished letter, in 1780, before I was a bishop:—"You mistake me, Sir, if you suppose that I have the most distant desire to make the democratical scale of the constitution outweigh the monarchical. Not one jot of the legal prerogative of the crown do I wish to see abolished, not one tittle of the King's influence in the state to be destroyed, except so far as it is extended over the representatives of the people." I pray God that neither of Their Majesties, or any of their posterity, may ever know by experience, that those, whom the adulators and intriguers of courts attempt to stigmatise as independent and impracticable men, are the best supporters of a constitutional throne, though the avowed enemies of an unconstitutional influence of the executive over the legislative part of the constitution.

Just before I left the diocese, my host at Merthyr came to bid me farewell at Landaff; and when we parted he took me by the hand, and said, "If ever you have occasion for five or ten thousand pounds, it shall be wholly at your service." I was infinitely surprised at this generous offer, and, returning my most grateful thanks, assured him that I neither was then, nor had any apprehension of ever being, in want of such a sum. Those, who in reading this anecdote shall be disposed to attribute Mr. Crawshay's offer to an ostentatious display of his wealth, will, in my judgment, do him great wrong: I am convinced, from the abrupt earnestness of his manner, and the eager aspect of his eye, that there was honour and sincerity in what he said to me. As to myself, I was more delighted with this substantial proof of the disinterested approbation of an iron-master, than I should have been with the possession of an archbishoprick acquired by a selfish subserviency to the despotic principles of a court.

Letter to Mr. Hayley, on his sending me the Life of Romney, and informing me of his being married.

"My dear Sir,

"I CERTAINLY shall peruse with great interest your Life of Romney. I had but little acquaintance with him as a man, and there were some traits in his character which had been reported to me, that deterred me from cultivating an intimacy with him. But these matters may probably have been misrepresented to me, and I have always been anxious rather to cover the imbecilities of human nature than to expose them, being conscious of many of my own, which rather shun than challenge the severity of public animadversion. I am relatively, but not absolutely, idle; for I am writing anecdotes of my own life, which I am enabled to do by having, from an early age, been accustomed to keep little memoranda of what I did and thought at the time. These *disjecta membra* will not, when put together, exhibit a poet, but a mere man of prose, whom the court, after his death, will be ashamed to look at, for their unpa-

ralleled neglect of him. My larches thrive beyond my hopes; and the prospect of their rendering my family as independent in fortune as their father has always been in spirit, lifts me far above any repining at the loss of such honours and emoluments as are in the power of courts to bestow.

"My father was a much older man than you are when I was born: not knowing the age of Mrs. Hayley, I know not whether to expect the blessed fruits of connubial life: but if your *viridis senectus* throws out a sucker, that it may resemble in quality and durability its parent stock, is the hearty wish of

"Your affectionate

"R. LANDAFF."

Letter to Lord Carysfort, 29th September, 1809.

"My dear Lord,

"I DIRECT this to Elton, not knowing where you are; and I am desirous of understanding a little how matters are going on: I have no private reason for making the enquiry, but I tremble for the country, and anxiously wish for a change of measures.

"We are expending the last guinea of the country, and by the ravages of war and disease wasting our population to no purpose whatever. We are obstinately prosecuting the chimerical project of restoring the balance of power in Europe, when every child in politics sees that it is overthrown by the genius of Buonaparte. We are madly aiming at the glory of restoring the equilibrium, without adverting to the probability that our pride will be our ruin.

"Many will applaud the ministers for their activity in making a common cause with Spain. *Eventus rerum stultorum est magister.* I do not judge from the event; but from the first I thought that we had not sufficient assurance of the Spaniards being so united among themselves as to wish for our assistance. We mistook the solicitation of a few for the call of the whole; without considering that an insurrection of the common people, unsupported by persons of rank and wealth, seldom ends successfully.

"The expedition to Flushing in the way to Antwerp may, for ought I know, have been well devised; for the destruction of

the navy of France is a matter worthy of ministerial attention: why it did not succeed we may know, perhaps, in the next session of Parliament. I pretend not to judge of military arrangements, but I do pretend to judge of the conduct of Government towards America. What! when we have not an ally, not a friend who wishes us well in all Europe, are we so *dementated,* so fitted for destruction, as to make an enemy of America also? Supposing (but not admitting) Mr. Erskine to have exceeded his commission, what an opportunity would that circumstance have afforded us of saying to America,—We wish to live on terms of amity with you, and we will give you this pledge of our sincerity, we will ratify the stipulations made by Mr. Erskine, notwithstanding his having, in some particulars, exceeded his instructions. We are united by nature, let us be united by good-will. America will, for the mutual benefit of the two nations, receive the products of our industry, and Great Britain will, for the mutual benefit of the two nations, protect the commerce of America against the aggression of France and of the world.

"When, my dear Lord, will the Christian world be at peace? I ever hated war, and the occasions of it,—the ambition of princes and the avarice of commerce; and, as I grow older, and approach nearer to the period when better principles than avarice or ambition must be every individual's passport to heaven, my aversion for them is increased.

"It is reported of one of the Athenian orators, (of Isocrates, I believe,) that, though he passionately loved his country, he disliked public speaking, and communicated to his compatriots his advice in speeches composed with care by himself, but recited by others. I so far resemble this orator that I passionately love my country, and have communicated to my countrymen, six years ago, in an intended speech, my advice on four points:—

"The annually instructing all the youth of the country in the use of arms. The payment of the national debt. The making a provision for the support of the Catholic clergy in Ireland. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in England.

"I have a perfect knowledge of the ob-

jections which have been made to some of these measures, both by His Majesty and by his ministers, some of whom I consider as wise, and some as foolish statesmen; (for though the King can give office, he cannot give that wisdom and experience which constitute a great statesman;) but this knowledge has in no point changed my sentiments as to the expediency, I will say, as to the necessity, of some such measures for our safety as an independent state.

"Let us make peace with Buonaparte: his own interest will secure its permanency; for he wants nothing but peace with us to establish his usurpation. Let the maritime powers of the Continent have no just cause of complaint against us for the use we make of our naval strength; and diminish that of our standing army, by determining to enter no more into continental alliances with powers who secretly hate us, and will, in the hour of danger, desert us. Let us depend upon ourselves, trusting, under God, to the magnitude of our trading capital, to the skill and enterprise of our merchants and manufacturers, to the ingenuity of our mechanists, to the uprightness of our deal-

ings with foreign nations; and our commerce will, I am confident, not only not be lessened but augmented. In addition to these measures, let us strenuously set about improving the lands of the united empire, by judiciously expending in that undertaking a sum equal only to that, worse than wasted annually in one year's warfare, and we shall soon be able to raise within ourselves food sufficient for the sustenance of thirty millions of people; and with such a population we shall be able to defend ourselves in our insular situations against the combined attacks of all Europe.

"There have been and there are men in the country with minds enlarged and enlightened enough to entertain and accomplish such great purposes as I have here hinted at; but unfortunately such men are not sought for or confided in.

"I have long ago said that the Continent would soon be divided into three powers, France, Austria, and Russia; but I had not sagacity to foresee that Austria would be so speedily extinguished as she seems to be. France and Russia will parcel between them the Ottoman power: they will

soon quarrel about the possession of the spoil, and give opportunity thereby to the minor conquered states to regain a portion of their power and independency.

"My eldest son is now with me. I see no probability of his regaining such firm health as a military life requires, and have advised him to retire from the profession. My other son is also with me, and I mean to keep him at home till I have made him a good divine; for I wish him, in going into the church, to be an ornament to it: by that expression I do not mean a pedantic theologue who shall think it for his honour, to defend every imperfection of the Establishment, and much less a furious reformer who shall think that every thing is wrong merely because it is established, but a calm and intelligent reasoner, who distrusts the extent of his own talents in all speculative points, and conscientiously endeavours to practise the *agenda* of Christianity, without wishing to compel others to what he esteems a proper profession of its *credenda*.

"I hope to receive from you a good

account of yourself and your family, being ever, with sincere regard,

"Yours affectionately,

"R. LANDAFF."

Letter to Lord Carysfort, 27th October, 1809.

"This, I trust, will find you all safely arrived at Elton. I am so pleased with the good sense and good language expressed in your letter from Arklow, that I cannot forbear returning you my thanks for it, especially as you have intimated a wish to know my reasons for thinking as I do on a particular point. You were formerly my pupil; in political science, I am willing to believe that you are now become my master; but as long as I live, I shall have a satisfaction in communicating to you my sentiments on every subject, with the same freedom and sincerity which I used towards you above forty years ago.

"I am not wholly ignorant of what are called Maritime Rights of War; but I have long been of opinion, that all wars, maritime and continental, have *assumed*

rights which cannot be justified by the law of nature. Every conqueror, from Brennus to Buonaparte, silences the complaints of his enemy, and attempts to still the upbraiding of his own conscience, with a code of rights which admits of no contradiction,—*Jus in armis fero.*

"I have always accustomed myself to consider the law of nations, regulating the conduct of independent states towards each other, to be founded on the same principles (*mutatis mutandis*) on which the law of nature, regulating the conduct of independent individuals in a state of nature, is founded.

"Now let A, B, C, denote three men in a state of nature, of whom A has more corn, B more yams, C more fish than he wants. These three men, for their mutual advantage, barter their several commodities among themselves, and live peaceably (for a state of nature is a state of peace) and independently together. On some occasion or other, A and B become enemies, whilst C observes strict neutrality, and offers his fish to each of them. No, says A, you shall not barter your fish with B. No, says B, you shall not barter your fish with

A. Thus, both A and B injure C, who, having taken no part, has done no act of injustice, either as a principal or as accessory, to either of them.

"The application of this reasoning to belligerent and neutral states is obvious; and I have some confidence in the justness of it, from observing, that Gronovius, in his notes on Grotius, admits, or rather makes Grotius admit, even a greater latitude of commerce than is here contended for; in explaining Grotius's meaning of the two terms, *commerciorum libertatem*, Gronovius says, in his note:—*Jure gentium licere unicuique merces suas portare ac vendere, ad quos libuerit.* But if by *jura gentium*, we understand rights not derived from the principles of the law of nature, but founded on the *usages* of ancient nations,—on the *conventions* (seldom voluntary on both sides) of modern states,—on the *decisions* of civilians,—or on the still more exceptionable altercations of diplomatists,—we shall run a great risk of having no law of nations at all: for admirable is the maxim, *Ubi jus incertum ibi jus nullum;* and what certainly can be expected, when every nation is at

liberty to change its usages, to modify its conventions, to enlarge the list of articles esteemed contraband of war, till by prohibiting a commerce in corn and in Peruvian bark, it suffers millions of innocent persons to perish by famine or by pestilence.

"So far am I from wishing to see our naval force reduced, that I wish it to become superior to the united naval force of the whole world; but at the same time, I must ever wish this superior force to be solely employed for our self-defence, and not for the purpose of enriching ourselves, by shackling the commerce, and damping the industry of other nations.

"In my sermon before the Lords, at the end of the American war, it is said:— "We can supply foreign markets with better goods, at a cheaper rate, and with a longer credit, than our neighbours can do; and these being more just, will therefore be more sure and permanent sources of profit to us, than an arbitrary and precarious monopoly of the trade of half the globe." I am still of opinion, that if the freedom of commerce were established by every nation in the world, the genius, the skill, the in-

dustry, the integrity, the capital of our merchants and manufacturers, would secure to Great Britain and Ireland as much commerce as could be carried on by our population.

"But whether we could with safety open our ports to the commerce of other nations, whilst they kept theirs shut against us, is a question on which I have not thought sufficiently to give an opinion; but were I, from my present view of the subject, compelled to decide, I should say, No.

"The jubilee business has gone off in this part of the country with no great eclat. The people are disposed to think well, and to speak well of the King personally; but they lament the loss of America, the enormously increased weight of taxation, and the inroads made on the constitution by his ministers. For my own part, I will never suffer the neglect with which I have been insulted, to shake for a moment, in any one particular, my allegiance to His Majesty, or my veneration for the constitution of the country, as settled by the Revolution.

"I have had a slight stroke of paralysis about a month ago, but am quite recovered.

"May every good attend you and yours in this world and the next, is the hearty prayer of

"Yours affectionately,

"R. LANDAFF."

Mr. Hardinge having informed me that he had stimulated Mr. Davies (author of Celtic Researches, &c.) to publish a few pages on Prophecy, and requested that I would permit him to state his opinion in the form of a letter to me, I sent him the following answer:—

"Calgarth Park, Nov. 26, 1809.

"My dear Sir,

"I am recovering from a slight paralytic stroke, which (though it has not deprived me of any intellectual faculty) has, together with an advanced age, rendered me more averse than I used to be to difficult investigation of any kind; and no subject requires greater intellectual energy than the elucidation of prophecy. I shall not, in perusing Mr. Davies's composition, do justice to it; nor have I it in my power to reward his literary exertions as they deserve. I

wish him a better patron, and he merits the best. But if these considerations will not change his purpose or your wishes, that he should address his letter to me, I consent at once to a measure which cannot fail of being honourable to me, how useless soever it may be to himself. If you will turn to the contents of the fourth volume of my Collection of Theological Tracts, you will perceive on what a boisterous sea of controversy you have stimulated your friend to launch his bark. I have no doubt that he will steer it with skill and caution to what all honest men aim at—the port of truth. I am &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

About this time, the Bishop of Durham gave to the clergy of the diocese of Landaff 100*l.* a-year; and I find that I sent him the following note, which I will insert here, that so great a benefaction may never be forgotten:—

"My dear Lord,

"I yesterday received the extract from the deed of trust, and shall order it to be

inserted in the book which I have prepared for the purpose of annually registering an account of the disposal of your donation.

"The slight paralytic stroke, which I had as I was riding in October last, has not yet returned; nor has it left me much cause, either in body or intellect, to be alarmed at having had it. Had I been in London this winter, I flatter myself that I should have had the pleasure of concurring with you in parliament; for though I am not afraid of Popery, I am afraid of Pope Buonaparte, and can never consent that the Catholic bishops, when maintained by the state, (as I wish them to be,) should either be recommended, nominated, or confirmed, by any foreign power. I am with constant and sincere esteem,

"Your faithful servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

To Sir John Sinclair, on his having sent for my Perusal and Correction the First Chapter of his Husbandry of Scotland.

"Calgarth Park, Jan. 26, 1810.

"My dear Sir John,

"In a book entitled 'Practical Tracts

on Agriculture and Gardening,' there is a catalogue of above seven hundred English authors who have written on husbandry and subjects relative to it, from the year 1534, when Fitz-Herbert's Husbandry was first published, to 1769, when the catalogue here mentioned was published (I believe) by Mr. Weston.

"Since that period, so numerous have been the publications on agricultural subjects, by private persons and by public bodies, not only in Great Britain, but in every country of the Continent, that it may be said of agriculture, as a science, what was said of the Roman history as an empire, and what may be properly (perhaps) said of our own, — *Magnitudine laborat suâ.*

"The subject, however, must be still enlarged, and the publication of individual experiments encouraged, till agriculture, like other branches of physical knowledge, shall, if possible, attain a scientific form; and abound in aphorisms, to be received by practical farmers as established truths. It is not without design that I have said, if possible; because some of the main principles of agriculture, such as seed, soil, ma-

nure, culture, climate, weather, &c., though going under the same name, are not so accurately defined, nor so clearly understood, as to produce an identity of results, when similarly used.

"As contributing to this end, I have perused with attention your Husbandry of Scotland, in which there are many things which are new, some which were known before, and some liable to contravention, or at least discussion, but nothing discreditable to yourself, or unbecoming your situation as President of the Board. I particularly admire the enlarged and benevolent views described in your conclusion.

"The attempt which was made a few years ago for a general enclosure of commons failed from a combination of prejudice and ignorance; of unwarrantable prejudice against the proposers of it, and of unpardonable ignorance of the subject. I will not therefore make any proposal, lest a similar fate should attend mine, but I must mention that a peasant within two miles of my house has lately built a cottage on a common, and walled in a small portion of its ground, at an expense equal to ten times

the value of the fee simple of the land. What if legal liberty was given to every man in the kingdom to build a cottage and to enclose as far as five acres for a garden and the keeping of a cow, on any common which should be set out for him, under such restrictions and limitations as might be thought proper? But enough of my fancies, though it is no fancy to say, that the strength of a nation depends on its population, and its population on the facility of providing for a progeny.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

On the 28th of March, 1810, I received the following letter from Mr. Harvey Mortimer, dated Literary Fund, Gerrard-Street:—

"My Lord,

"I am desired by the committee for erecting a statue to the memory of Locke, to express to Your Lordship their high admiration of, and grateful acknowledgements for, your letter, which they hope Your Lordship will permit them to publish,

as they are satisfied it would contribute very much to the success of the undertaking. I have the honour, &c.

"HARVEY MORTIMER."

Answer, 29th March, 1810.

"Sir,

"ALLOW me to request you to assure the committee, that I am far from being insensible to the honour they have done me in approving the letter which was hastily written, when I became a subscriber to the statue intended to be erected to the memory of Locke.

"The principles, civil and religious, of that great man, have hitherto influenced, and as long as I live they will continue to influence, my public conduct; but in the precarious state of my health, and at my advanced age, I cannot consent to expose the tranquillity of this retirement to be disturbed by the animadversions which (in these irritable and distempered times) would probably attend the publication of my former letter.

I have no objection to my name ap-

pearing in the list of subscribers, and instead of five I wish my subscription to be ten guineas.

"I am, Sir, your most faithful servant,

"R. Landaff."

I wrote in the same month the following note to Lord Grenville, on having read his letter to Lord Fingal: —

"My Lord,

"Allow me to express my high approbation of your letter to Lord Fingal. I concur with you in every line of it. The appointment of the Catholic bishops ought to be in the King, if they are to be paid by the state; and if they are to be paid by the Catholics themselves, the appointment ought to be in them, but exclusive of all foreign influence, recommendation, or confirmation. If they do not accede to this, or to something similar to this, they will act on a principle which I did not expect, nor can approve.

"You have in your letter clearly expressed your adherence to the grounds on which you have supported the petition;

yet the *No-Popery* men begin to say that you have changed your mind, because they either cannot or will not advert to the change which has taken place in the question itself. I trust, however, to the good sense of the Catholics, in not being hurried by the violence of a few zealots, into decisions contrary to that line of conduct which, with the solid wisdom of a real statesman, you have recommended to them.

"I have not taken my seat, so that I can give no proxy; and yet both on the Catholic question, and on that which Lord Sidmouth has announced his intention of introducing into parliament, I should not be unwilling to give my opinion.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

The distinction I have here made, with respect to the appointment of bishops being in the chief magistrate of the state, where a church is established, or in those who, dissenting from the Establishment, pay their bishops or presbyters from their own private property, appears to me to be just, though I am sensible that it will not be admitted

as such by all, either Catholics or Protestants.

About the 20th of April, I received from General Staveley a letter from Mr. Whitcombe, accompanying a pamphlet with the following title: "Considerations addressed to the Legislature, upon the Expediency and Policy of authorising the Alienation of Estates belonging to Corporate Bodies, particularly Bishops, and Deans and Chapters, for the Purpose of raising Money to purchase the unredeemed Land-Tax; and demonstrating the Advantages which would result from such Alienation and Appropriation, both to the Church and State. By Samuel Whitcombe, Esq., Serjeants' Inn, Temple."

I sent the subjoined answer to Mr. Whitcombe, whom I did not know, either personally or by character:—

"Calgarth Park, April 29, 1810.

"Sir,

"I have received and perused with attention the pamphlet which you have sent

me through General Staveley, and beg you to return to him, and to accept yourself, my thanks for the trouble you have respectively taken. I do not see any reason for questioning the accuracy of your calculations; and am fully persuaded that your mind is too enlightened and enlarged for you to wish to promote the benefit of the state at the expense of the church; yet I must own that I have never cordially approved the measure of redeeming the land-tax; nor can I now concur without some reluctance in the scheme you propose of alienating the estates of bishops, and deans and chapters, (and if theirs, why not of all other corporate bodies?) for the purpose of raising money for the purchasing the yet unredeemed land-tax.

"I do not, in truth, like any plan which has a tendency to make the landholders responsible for the debts due to the stockholders; for such a principle enables ministers to raise money with facility for carrying on of war, often unjust, (like the American war,) and never necessary till negotiation, accompanied with a peaceful disposition, has been tried, and tried in vain.

"You have candidly proposed and anticipated an objection which, however, still sticks with me, of fee-farm rents being an unimprovable property. I had rather give thirty years' purchase for an improvable landed property, (and what is called waste land is not the only species capable of improvement,) than twenty-five years' purchase for fee-farm rents. This looks like prejudice; but improvable estates may every where be met with which will pay ten per cent. for the money expended in improvement, and make the whole money laid out in the purchase and subsequent improvement pay six or eight per cent.

"Above forty years ago, I was one of three appointed by the University of Cambridge to go to London, and there to use our best endeavours to oppose a bill, introduced by Mr. Wedderburn into the House of Commons, and read a first time. The bill was permissory, and not compulsory,—recommendatory, not imperative: it allowed colleges to alienate their estates, and thereby to augment their revenues. We waited upon Lord North (the then minister), stating our objections, and though

we were calumniated at blowing the trumpet of sedition, the bill was no more heard of. I was appointed by my colleagues to wait upon Lord Rockingham. I did so; and on stating to him that had the estates of Trinity College been in the time of Queen Elizabeth (who gave us our statutes) reduced to money-payments, the present Fellows would have had no more than twenty-pence a week each for his maintenance, His Lordship gave up the plan at once; and I must be of opinion, that had not the estates of the bishops, &c., which were sold during the usurpation of Cromwell, been restored, the present possessors of those dignities would have had only a scanty and precarious subsistence.

"In 1799, Mr. Pitt had a plan for selling the tithe of the church, on the same principle (of assisting public credit) that the land-tax had been offered for sale in the preceding session of Parliament. I was requested, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to furnish Mr. Pitt with my remarks on the plan. I did as I was desired to do; and, as the plan was not a fixed money-payment, but variable according to the price of grain, I gave it my approbation,

not on the principle of its aiding public credit, but on that of its extinguishing animosity between the clergy and their parishioners, and promoting agriculture; at the same time I suggested many considerations which had not been enough or at all attended to, relative to the rights of the clergy on new enclosures, &c. This plan came to nothing. You will permit me to remark that the contingent advantages accruing to the estates of bishops, and deans and chapters, on the enclosure of waste lands, ought by no means to be overlooked, should your plan be persevered in.

"You properly assume a year and an half rack-rent, being the usual fine for a renewal of seven years in a lease of twenty-one: less than a century ago, the usual fine was one year's rack-rent: by degrees it became one year and a quarter, then one year and an half; but it has not stopped there, for some colleges take two years' full rack-rent for their fine, and they are justified in taking that or even a much larger fine, according to the increase in the quantity of money, or of the representative of money, in the country.

"But I am insensibly sliding into poli-

tical considerations of great weight, when I only meant to give you a mark of my respect in having not negligently adverted to the pamphlet which you have so obligingly submitted to my perusal. I am &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Richard Reece, M. D., had dedicated to me the first edition of his Medical Guide, and in April, 1810, he sent me the seventh edition of it, and requested me to read a few pages (from the 15th to the 19th) of the introduction to the first part, and to favour him with my opinion of it. I sent him the subjoined letter, dated May 12th, 1810:—

"Sir,

"AFTER returning you my best thanks for the present of your book, which I have just received, I must observe that it is not my custom to give an opinion of any book, lest I should usurp the province of a reviewer. I have, however, read the pages with pleasure, which you have recommended to my perusal.

"I am not wholly unacquainted with

what has been written by various authors on the vibrations of ether, on electrical muscular motions, on animal spirits, on nervous fluids, on irritability, as distinguished from sensibility, and on other theories, which have been formed in different ages and countries, to explain animal physiology; but I own that I have looked upon them all with the suspicion of their being ingenious hypotheses rather than solid truths experimentally established; and you must excuse me if I do not consider your electrical fire, excited by and emanated from the brain, in any other light.

"I allow the whole of your system to be ingenious, and think that it may be of practical utility in the art of healing; but I despair of ever seeing the question clearly decided, Whether the brain is the efficient or the instrumental cause of sensation?

"We can comprehend how light, entering the pupil of an eye, refracted by passing through its humours, and impinging on its bottom, may form a perfect image of an external object, as we see is mechanically done in the camera obscura. We can comprehend how the impulse of a

wave of air on the tympanum of the ear may there excite a vibratory motion, as we see is done by a stick impinging the parchment of a drum; but why the man has a perception of sound which the drum has not, or an idea of figure depicted on the choröides or retina of the eye, (whichever of them be the seat of vision,) which the camera has not; in other words, how perception is excited from material impulse, must ever, I think, exceed the apprehension of human intellect. The difficulty is not removed by introducing an immaterial substance, since, as such, we must conceive it to be incapable of either giving or receiving material impulse; but our inability of apprehension ought never to be urged as an argument against the possibility of existence, since we are certain that God is an immaterial substance, and the primary Author of all material impulse existing in the universe.

"Wishing success to your lectures,

"I remain,

"Your faithful and obliged servant,

"R. Landaff."

The following is a Letter to one of my

oldest and most respected friends, Mr. Harrison, who whilst in the House of Commons acquired and deserved the esteem of all honest and independent men, and who had written to me on the subject then in agitation, the imprisonment of Sir Francis Burdett:—

"Calgarth Park, June 1, 1810.

"My dear Harrison,

"I AM very happy in receiving a good account of Frances and yourself, and think you quite right in looking how the world wears in London, though I do not follow your example, but am content with a monkish apathy, to let the world *vadere sicut vult vadere.*

"I, amongst others, have thought of what is going forwards in the political world, but I despair of any plan being formed to amend the maladies under which we labour.

"The power of acting for the public good in cases not provided for by law is of the very essence of the royal prerogative; and as these cases cannot always be foreseen, the extent of the prerogative cannot on all points be defined.

"The power of expelling a member from the House of Commons is a privilege essential to the constitution of it as an House; but the committing a member, or not a member, to prison, and by military force, for a speech or writing which has not been *found by a jury to be a libel,* is a privilege, which I cannot prove to my own satisfaction to be either necessary to the constitution of the House of Commons, or useful to the state. What the decision of the present question may be is wholly uncertain. Should it be in support of the Speaker's warrant, I think it ought to be followed by a law prohibiting such violence in future, and defining, as far as can be done, the extent of privilege; for I must ever adhere to the maxim, *Ubi jus incertum ibi jus nullum.*

"As to a reform in the representation, I have never seen any plan calculated to do much good. It was said, I think, by the old Duke of Newcastle, that it was cheaper to buy the elected in the House of Commons than the electors in rotten boroughs.

"About two months ago I wrote a letter to Lord Grenville; a short one, in truth, but comprehending my plain opinion on the

Catholic question. I send you an extract, from which you will rightly infer, that though I am not afraid of Popery, I am afraid of Pope Buonaparte; and I heartily wish that Government were as much afraid of him as I am.

"I have left off riding: walking fatigues me; and I cannot yet submit to an airing in a carriage. Whether it is by Her or by His Majesty that I am laid on the shelf, I do not at all repine at the position; for I can truly say with the philosopher,

"Ici je trouve le bonheur,
Ici je vis sans spectateur;
Dans le silence littéraire,
Loin de tout importun jaseur;
Loin des froids discours du vulgaire,
Et des hauts tons de la grandeur."

"But my literary retirement, though it improves my own mind, will not improve the world; for I shall never more attempt to do that either in politics or religion. I have too much respect for public opinion to expose to public animadversion the dregs of life. I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

This I believe was the last letter which I ever wrote to Mr. Harrison: he died in February, 1811. I have inserted it in these anecdotes, because I consider it as a circumstance honourable to myself, that I maintained for above half a century a warm friendship with a man of much public and private worth; and I wish his two surviving daughters to look upon its publication as my tribute of affection to the memory of their father.

Letter to the Duke of Grafton, who thought himself dying.

"Calgarth Park, July 27, 1810.

"My dear Lord Duke,

"I HAD been meditating for several weeks to trouble you with a letter of enquiry, but hearing occasionally of the amended state of your health, I was unwilling to oppress you by a display of unavailing solicitude; your own account, however, of yourself, will not permit me to remain longer silent.

"Attachment to life is not peculiar to the human species; it belongs to all animals, and is necessary to keep them in

existence; and, by the existence of animal life, a large portion of insensate matter becomes to such rational creatures, as will consider the subject, an irrefragable proof of the goodness of God. I remember that this thought first struck me when (a boy at Cambridge) I was gallopping to the Hills, and chanced to observe a skylark singing and mounting in the air. Why, I said to myself, did God animate the lump of earth composing the body of that lark? Doubtless to cause it to rejoice in its existence; and from the same principle he has animated the body of my horse, and the body of myself; and while I have my being I will praise him for this his goodness! Now I see this goodness universally exhibited and constituting one of the most interesting attributes of God—most interesting to percipient beings; for without it knowledge and power, nay omniscience and omnipotence, are, as it were, nothing to such beings. When I consider this, I cannot listen for a moment to the desponding doctrines of Calvin, of his predecessors, or his successors, in the church of Christ.

"Before I took my Bachelor of Arts'

degree, I had learned indeed my catechism, as other boys do; but I had never thought either of the truth of the Christian religion, or of the nature of the doctrines contained in it. My mind being, after my degree, liberated from the severity of mathematical studies, expanded itself and ranged into other fields of knowledge without control: I thought freely on religious subjects; and I found nothing in revealed religion which in any degree lessened the natural notion I had formed respecting the Divine goodness, but many things to confirm and enlarge it. I found, in truth, and lamented to find, in all Christian churches, a tendency to become wise above what was written, to require *certain* assent to *doubtful* propositions, to explain modes of existence which cannot be explained to beings with our faculties, and to mould the ineffable attributes of God according to the model of human imperfection. The doing of this I considered as (if the expression may be allowed) anthropomorphitising in the worst sense the incomprehensible Author of Nature, and had always been averse from interpreting, in a strict literal sense, such

passages of Scripture as attribute to him the parts and passions, the corporeal and intellectual properties and imperfections of a man.

"Why should we be disturbed by gloomy apprehensions of death, since he who made us can and will, even in death, preserve us? Unless we cease to love him, (which neither you nor I can, I trust, ever do,) he will not cease to love us: the human race in falling from their first estate, did not fall from the love of God. Are we not assured, that 'God so loved the world' (even in its fallen state—that world which some, even good men, represent as a mass of corruption vitiated to the very core, and doomed before its existence to everlasting, not merely perdition, but punishment,) 'that he gave his only begotten Son, that every one who believeth in him may not perish but have everlasting life?' John, iii. 16.

"It may be worth while to peruse a short book of Bishop Law's, printed in his Theory of Religion, under the title of 'The Nature and End of Death under the Christian Covenant.' For though the eye of reason cannot penetrate the recesses of the

grave, though the light of Revelation hath not, perhaps cannot, make it *appear what we shall be*; yet a due reflection on the necessity of dying, accompanied with the blessed hope of being raised from the dead, and of ascending a step in the gradation of intellectual existence, may make us expect with composure and comfort the inevitable change; when we shall become like the angels of God, immortal, placed, it may be, in the lowest rank of angelic beings, but neither debarred the means nor deprived of the hope of rising to the highest.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Letter to a Friend who had intimated to me his Expectation of seeing me in London, on the Chance of a Regency taking place.

"Calgarth Park, Dec. 17, 1810.

"My dear Sir,

"I THINK very highly of Mr. Davies's ability, and consider his preface as containing sentiments founded in truth, in my opinion, and honourable to himself, but not as new. Mr. Locke, the Remonstrants in Holland, and thousands in England, argu-

ing for the right of private judgment, in scriptural interpretation, have frequently and forcibly maintained the same. The fact is, that my mathematical education has quite spoiled my taste for doubtful disputations in other sciences. The *reciprocatio serræ controversiæ* in theology is always grating to my ears, and often leaves me as diffident of having attained truth on any controverted subject, as if I had been in my youth a disciple of Carneades, or of any other doctor of the *old* or *new* academy.

"Your expectations of seeing me in London, on the supposition of a regency being formed, are not well founded. At my time of life I will not debase the character, which I have through life endeavoured to establish, by soliciting promotion either from a Regent or a King; nor am I certain (if I could stoop to such meanness) that I should ever become acceptable at St. James's. Courts were not made for me, nor am I made for courts; but I love my country, and could I assist in its councils, infirm as I am, I would take my seat in the House of Lords, which I have not yet done.

"It is now above seven years since I gave to the court my advice (in an intended speech) on four points of the greatest importance: had the first of these been *then* adopted, we should have had at this moment 350,000 young men instructed in the use of arms in addition to our regular troops; had all of them been brought forward, we should not only have put out of peril our own independence, but secured that of the continent of Europe.

"The time, I fear, is fast approaching when every man will say to his neighbour, *Cedo qui nostram rempublicam tantam amisimus tam citò?* The *proveniebant oratores novi, stulti, adolescentuli,* will constitute the principal part of the answer.

"Your faithful and affectionate

"Friend and servant,

"R. Landaff."

The following is the last letter which I wrote to my friend the Duke of Grafton, who died on the 14th of the following March:—

"My dear Lord Duke,

"Though I know not how to attempt

to console you for the loss of our common friends, Mr. Smyth and Mr. Harrison, yet I cannot forbear troubling Your Grace, lest such an omission on such an occasion, should indicate an indifference which I am incapable of feeling towards yourself.

" Lady Augusta, I hope, will have the goodness to gratify my anxiety about your own health, as I have been informed that you have not lately been so stout as you were some months ago. But whence is it, my good friend, that I speak of anxiety, since I feel a strong confidence, (an humble, I trust, and not a presumptuous confidence,) that men like ourselves will be proper objects of God's mercy, and obtain that eternal life which he hath promised through Jesus Christ, to all who love and fear him.

" This is not the language of self-justifying sinners; it is the language of men who believe the Gospel, and who in great self-abasement venerate the adorable and inscrutable cause of every thing. I am, with affectionate concern for Your Grace's health and spirits,

" R. LANDAFF."

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S

Letter to the Duke of Grafton, April 1, 1810.

"My dear Lord Duke,

"A LETTER by this post from the executors of your late father, has afforded me a satisfaction, which I thought it impossible for me to have received from any circumstance, attending the loss of so excellent a friend. They have informed me that in a codicil to his will, dated June 24th, 1807, in his own hand-writing, he has left me, as a token of his friendship, his *Complutensian Polyglott*. Tokens of a friendship of forty years standing, are equally honourable to those who give and to those who receive them, and to me they are invaluable; for the great ambition of my life has been to deserve well of those who have known me best.

"Be so good as to take an opportunity of thanking in my name the executors, for the very obliging manner in which they have signified to me this intelligence; and, that I may occasion them no more trouble, I will tell Faulder to forward the books to me, whenever they may be left at his shop.

"Lord Muncaster was formerly much

acquainted with your father. He sent me the other day a letter of condolence: you will be pleased with reading the following extract from it:—'In former days I had 'the honour to have frequent communica- 'tion with the Duke of Grafton, and I owe 'it to his memory to say, that a man of 'higher honour and more excellent prin- 'ciple and character I have never met 'with in my walks through life.'

"I could not neglect so fair an opportunity of establishing and enlarging Lord Muncaster's good opinion of the character of my departed friend, I therefore immediately wrote to him the annexed letter:—

"'My dear Lord,

"'We have read of a philosopher or of 'an hero of antiquity, I do not now re- 'member which, who, on being informed 'that he had lost both his sons in one 'battle, replied, "I knew that I begat them 'mortal." I cannot but admire the stoical 'firmness of this reply, yet I must believe 'that the glistening of the eye, and the 'faltering of the voice of him who uttered 'it, showed, at the moment, that the sym-

'pathetic affections of nature overcame the 'misplaced efforts of vanity.

"'Sensibility, and the want of it, may 'both of them become culpable by their 'excess. I feel, I hope, as I ought to do, 'the recent loss of the Duke of Grafton, of 'Harrison, Crowle, Smyth, and Maske-'lyne: above twenty years ago, I lost al-'most at once an equal number of my 'oldest and best friends. What do all these 'sad losses teach us? They ought to teach 'us so to live, that we may contemplate 'with tranquillity the time (fast approach-'ing to us all) when our few remaining 'friends will embalm our memory with a 'transient sentiment of regret; transient, 'because accompanied with an hope that 'we have conscientiously, however imper-'fectly, laboured to fight a good fight, to 'obtain the high prize of Christian warfare 'which God hath promised by his Son,—'everlasting life.

"'I most heartily concur with you in 'your honourable testimony to the charac-'ter of the Duke of Grafton, and I will 'transcribe a letter now in my possession 'which I very unexpectedly received from

'him thirteen years ago, in confirmation 'of the correctness of the judgment we have 'severally formed of our late friend's cha-'racter :—

"'Piccadilly, March 15, 1798.

"'My dear Lord,

"'It will appear extraordinary, and 'perhaps to many incredible, that, con-'sidering the intimate friendship in which 'I am so fortunate as to live with Your 'Lordship, I should have printed any thing 'without your having previously seen it in 'any way.

"'It is not meant for publication, but 'chiefly for the inspection of my own 'family, and likewise for my own justifica-'tion. When I put it into your hands, I 'am sensible that you cannot agree with, 'or approve most of the essential parts of 'it, though you will tolerate every person 'who, in the sincerity of his heart, ventures 'to make use of private judgment in a con-'scientious search after truth.

"'I ever remain, my dear Lord,

"'Your Lordship's most

"'faithful friend and servant,

"'GRAFTON.

"'An 8vo pamphlet of eighty-two pages, 'entitled, "The serious Reflections of a 'rational Christian, written down at dif-'ferent times, from 1788 to 1797," accom-'panied this letter. If it should ever be 'published, Christians of every denomina-'tion will admire, and, I hope, adopt in 'their own practice, the sincerity, humility, 'and piety of the author of it, apparent in 'the following extract from the 11th page: '—"If I am in any error, and under any 'mistake in these sentiments, I earnestly 'beg of Almighty God that I may be con-'vinced of it, and that he will pardon in 'me my ignorance, and that he will en-'lighten my understanding by his Holy 'Spirit, and lead me into the way of truth, 'establishing me in the same more and 'more every day." I am, &c.

"'R. Landaff.'

"Adieu, my dear Lord Duke, and for the rest of my life, be it long or short, I beg you to consider me as

"Your ever affectionate friend,

"R. Landaff."

On the 30th of the same month, a paralytic stroke deprived me in a great measure of the use of my right hand; but my understanding not being affected thereby, and the Bishop of Lincoln having published about that time his "Refutation of Calvinism," I sent him the following letter:—

"Calgarth Park, May 17, 1811.

"My dear Lord,

"BEING at present unable to write legibly, I make use of the hand of my son to signify to Your Lordship the great satisfaction which I have received from the perusal of your late work, and to congratulate you on the general approbation which it so justly merits, and will certainly meet with.

"In saying this, I do not mean to say that I agree with you on every point; but in what I differ from you I have rather a suspended than a decided judgment, and am far from dogmatically contending that I am right and you are wrong.

"I agree with you most cordially on the two main points; that the doctrines of Calvinism are not the doctrines of Scripture,

nor were maintained by the most ancient fathers of the church. In the stream of antiquity, (as Whitby has said in his preface to his discourses concerning the "Five Points,") we see only one, St. Austin, with his two boatswains, Prosper and Fulgentius, tugging hard against it, and often driven back into it by the strong current of Scripture, reason, and of common sense.

"I am, my dear Lord,

"Your faithful and obliged brother,

"R. LANDAFF."

In September I received a letter from Dr. Marsh, (Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge,) enclosing a prospectus of an intended national society for the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church, and requesting to know whether I would assist in the *promotion* and *guidance* of such society. Though I was much afraid of reviving religious controversy, and thought the Established Church in no danger, I sent the following answer:—

"Calgarth Park, Sept. 27, 1811.

"Mr. Professor,

"I WILL not lose a post in returning an

answer to your obliging letter of the 21st instant. I therefore, without hesitation, signify to you my consent to assist in the *promotion* and *guidance* of the intended society in every way which shall appear to me to be consistent with a due regard to the rights of other men.

"Though I have through life been of opinion that some changes (I think them improvements) in the doctrine and discipline of our ecclesiastical establishment might be very safely and very properly made, yet I hold it, with all its real or supposed imperfections, to be wholly deserving of protection and support.

"Knowing from what slender beginnings great mischiefs frequently arise, and with what pertinacity men generally adhere to parties and principles once adopted, I cannot refrain from expressing an hope that the names of Bell and Lancaster may never become occasions of disunion and disesteem between Churchmen and Dissenters, but that by a friendly concurrence they may unite their great abilities in giving to the children of the poor a Christian education. I have purposely said a Christian educa-

tion, because though I approve the professed liberality of Mr. Lancaster's system, and esteem him to be perfectly sincere and well-meaning in his undertaking, yet thinking it impossible that the human mind can long remain a *rasa tabula* with respect to religion, I wish it to be early impressed with the principles of the Christian religion, as far superior to the philosophy of ancient or the theism of modern times, as a rule of moral conduct. I am,

"With the greatest esteem and good wishes,

"Your faithful servant,

"R. Landaff."

The following is a letter to Lord Carysfort, who had informed me that he had been writing what he called his creed. I had desired him to send it to me, promising at the same time to consider it with my most serious attention.

"**Calgarth Park, Sept. 30, 1811.**

"My dear Lord,

"When you mentioned to me your *creed*, I had no expectation of your sending

to me such lucubrations as I have received from you. They are very honourable to the industry and ability of their author, and I have known the time when I should with pleasure, and perhaps with profit to us both, have returned you my animadversions on every page, for in every page I have met with matter not for censure but discussion.

"But neither will my failing eye-sight enable me to read with accuracy your manuscript, nor will my failing intellect enable me as I could wish to penetrate the marrow of the great subjects you have handled.

"Many years ago I perused Bochart's Phaleg, the President de Goguet's Origin of Laws, &c., Burnet's Archæologia Philosophica, and many other books on subjects greatly similar to those on which you have so ably tried your strength; but I dare not, in my present condition, again venture to launch out on an ocean replete with curious objects of research, but with little except conjecture and assumption to direct our course. I may say, as Burnet has said of himself in the conclusion of his pre-

face to the Archæology, '*Ingruit senectus,*
'*appropinquat mors, et melioris ævi dies, cum*
'*hæc clarius elucebunt. Juvat interea tenue*
'*aliquod monumentum reliquisse vitæ non*
'*otiosè peractæ, et brevi quasi functum militiâ*
'*deinceps à laboribus requiescere.*' The *tenue monumentum* of my theological labour, which the public has so kindly noticed, would have been much enlarged had not my mind been diverted from literary to agricultural pursuits, as an honourable mean of providing moderately for a large family.

"On being compelled to seek health in the retirement of a country life, I planned a series of Theological Essays on the most important subjects; not with a view of shoring up any tottering edifice of Calvinistic or Arminian, of Episcopalian or Dissenting Divinity, and much less with a view of emulating what I could not reach, the industry and ingenuity of Frederic Spanheim, in removing all *Dubia Evangelica;* but with an humble hope of removing some of the hay, straw, stubble with which scholastic subtlety, combined with dogmatical intolerance, had in every country, and

in every age, obstructed the road to Evangelical truth and Christian charity. I had made some progress in the execution of this plan; but now despairing of being able to finish it to my satisfaction, and being unwilling that the world should say, the Theological Essays smell strong of the apoplexy, I have treated my divinity as I twenty-five years ago treated my chemical papers; I have lighted my fire with the labour of a great portion of my life.

"I write partly to apologise for my not giving to your work all the attention which I wished to bestow upon it, and principally to advertise you of the second part having come to hand. How am I to return both the parts, when I have kept them a little longer? I can send them by Mr. Wilson when he comes to town, if you do not wish them to be returned sooner. I shall write again as soon as I have leisure; but in the course of next month, I have promised to make two maidens happy, by uniting them to their respective mates, Lord Lindsay and Lieutenant-Colonel Smyth.

"Ever affectionately yours,

"R. Landaff."

Letter to Professor Vince, January 3d, 1812.

"Mr. Professor,

"When I made the late Astronomer Royal a Doctor of Divinity, I remember having whispered in his ear the following question:—

"'Abstracting from the loss of the sun's substance by the emanation of light, is there any cause why the solar system may not last for ever?'

"Accidentally reading the other day a book entitled 'Observations on the Liturgy,' printed by Debrett, 1789, I met with the following note:—'The late discovery 'of the Prussian astronomer Euler, that 'the earth in every revolution, narrows its 'orbit, and draws nearer to the sun, and 'consequently will, in a course of years, 'come within its vortex, and be consumed 'by it.' You, I am sensible, have written so well on the disturbing forces prevailing in the planetary system, that I can apply to no one so likely to inform me to what it is that Euler attributes the diminution of the earth's orbit, and whether it is a constant diminution, or contained within cer-

tain limits. I beg pardon for this intrusion on your time, but I have not Euler's works in this retirement.

"I should have been happy to have directed this letter to you as Astronomer Royal.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Mr. Vince favoured me with an intelligent and complete answer to my enquiry, by informing me, that he remembered Euler's hypothesis of the planets moving in an ethereal fluid, which gradually retarding their motions, would at length carry them to the sun, but that the *existence* of such a fluid was a mere conjecture; that there were no irregularities, (as they were called,) in the system; that nothing went on continually increasing or decreasing, so as to bring on destruction to the system; but that any other law of gravitation than the inverse square of the distance, would have brought destruction to it; that we are principally indebted for these important discoveries to Le Grange and De La Place; and that Sir I. Newton himself did not see

the extent to which his theory of gravitation would carry him; for he thought the system would occasionally want a renovation. I returned thanks in the following letter:—

"Calgarth Park, Jan. 27, 1812.

"Mr. Professor,

"I CANNOT forbear troubling you with my thanks for your letter, which is perfectly satisfactory in all its parts. I remember having somewhere read a Dissertation, (when I was Professor of Chemistry,) to prove, that the light emanated by the sun was reabsorbed into his substance: however that may be, every Christian philosopher ought to set the highest value upon your confutation of Atheism from the laws of gravitation. I am, with every good wish for your prosperity,

"Your obliged servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

On the 26th February, 1812, Sir Henry Moncrief Wellwood wrote to me from Edinburgh, saying, that he had lately

preached a sermon for the benefit of a Lancasterian school established in that city, and requesting my permission to dedicate it to me.

Though I had determined to take no part in the controversy then raging about the schools of Bell and Lancaster, thinking them both useful, I sent him the following answer:—

"Calgarth Park, Feb. 28, 1812.

"My dear Sir,

"I ACCEPT, with real satisfaction, the honour you intend me. It is now near sixty years since I heard, in the Divinity Schools, at Cambridge, a public disputation between Doctors Powell and Rutherforth, on the following question, which had been proposed by the former as an exercise for his Doctor's Degree:—*Ecclesiastici regiminis in Angliâ et in Scotiâ constituti neutra forma aut juri hominum naturali aut verbo Dei repugnat?* This question was then so acutely and liberally discussed, that an impression was then made on my young mind,

which has produced in me, through life, not only a great respect for the Church of Scotland, but great moderation towards Dissenters of every denomination. This uniform tenour of a long life has been injurious to my temporal interests; but if it has in any degree contributed to produce or to confirm a spirit of mutual forbearance and good-will among Christians, I shall have reason to console myself with the reflection that I have not lived in vain.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

On the 23d of March, 1812, I received a letter from Sir John Cox Hippesley, together with a publication of his on the Catholic Question, expressing his wishes that my health would permit me to attend the discussion of that question in the House of Lords; and flattering me with saying, that I had done more than any other person on that head, by having early given courage to those who followed me, to declare manfully their sentiments. I sent him the following answer:

"March 29th, 1812.

"Sir,

"I think myself much honoured by your kind attention in sending me your book, and acknowledge myself much instructed by the perusal of its various contents. If it were possible for me to be present at the discussion of the Catholic question in the House of Lords, I could add nothing of essential importance to the train of reasoning pursued in my Charge, which I published in 1808; nay, I might be obliged in some degree, to lessen its force, from an unexpected circumstance which has occurred since its publication.

"My opinion respecting the *Veto* is this:—'The appointment of the Irish Catholic bishops ought to be in the King, if 'they are to be paid by the state; and if 'they are to be paid by the Catholics themselves, it ought to be in them; but exclusive of all foreign influence, recommendation, or confirmation. If they do not accede to this, or to something similar to 'this, they will act on a *principle which I did not expect, nor can approve.*'

"The above is the opinion which I took

the liberty to transmit to Lord Grenville, in March, 1810, after I had read his letter to Lord Fingal. It may not probably, appear to many to be a just opinion, and I myself think it not *expedient* to be acted upon at this moment; but I am happy in seeing it confirmed, in a posthumous work of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, entitled 'Religion and Policy' printed at the Clarendon Press, in 1811. In this work, the noble author comes to this conclusion:—That it is the duty of Catholic subjects in a Protestant country, of priests as well as of the laity, to abjure the Pope's supremacy, ecclesiastical as well as temporal.

"I am far from wishing to see this duty enforced by the enactment of legal penalties; but the time, I think, approaches, when it will be admitted by enlightened Catholics themselves, to be a duty; and when that time is fully come, government will have no suspicions, learned individuals no apprehensions, and a Protestant populace no prejudices against Catholic subjects.

"This time approaches; and its motion will be accelerated, if government permits every man to exercise, in the expected de-

bate, his uninfluenced judgment. I have no expectation of a favourable issue at present, even on that supposition; but the Catholics, I trust, will be satisfied with the decision, though it should be unfavourable to their wishes; and wait till, by a continuance of their loyalty to the King, and of kindness towards their fellow-subjects, every prejudice against them shall be removed.

"I have the honour to be,

"With great respect,

"Your faithful and obliged servant,

"R. Landaff."

The day after I had sent the preceding answer to Sir John Cox Hippesley, I had the honour to receive a long and interesting letter on the Catholic question, from the Earl of Hardwicke, conveying an hope, that I would give my support to it either in person or by proxy. I returned immediately the subjoined answer:—

"Calgarth Park, April 2d, 1812.

"My dear Lord,

"My sentiments on the dangerous state

of the empire so perfectly coincide with Your Lordship's, that I sincerely lament my inability to give assistance to the Catholic cause, either in person or by proxy. Various infirmities render it impossible for me to do it in person; and not having taken my seat in this parliament, my proxy would not be admitted.

"I beg leave to trouble your Lordship with the perusal of the enclosed copy of a letter to Sir John Cox Hippesley, who had written to me about a week ago, pressing me to go to town.

"I make no secret of my opinion: a cordial reception of Catholics and Dissenters into the bosom of the constitution, by the extinction of all disqualifications, is become necessary to secure the independence of the empire, and the safety of the country.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Soon after this, I received a letter from the Marquis of Bute, informing me, that he had heard of there being a design of calling a county meeting, for the purpose of esta-

blishing at Cardiff a school on the plan of Dr. Bell, and expressing great anxiety to know how far my sentiments accorded with his own, which were in favour of universal toleration. I sent him the subjoined answer: —

"Calgarth Park, April 15, 1812.

"My Lord Marquis,

"About six weeks ago, I received a letter from Sir H. Moncrief Wellwood, requesting my permission to dedicate to me a Sermon which he had just then preached in Edinburgh, in support of the Lancasterian school established in that city. I trouble Your Lordship with the annexed copy of the letter which I sent by the return of the post, on the 28th of February last. From the perusal of it, Your Lordship will properly infer the perfect coincidence of my principles with respect to universal toleration, with your own. From what has lately taken place in various parts of the empire, I cannot help being of opinion, that certain zealous men in the Established Church have suffered their apprehension for its safe-

ty to outstrip all probability of danger arising to it, from the institution of either Lancasterian schools or auxiliary Bible Societies. The church is in no danger from Protestant or Catholic Dissenters; but the state must ever be in danger, from discontent breeding disaffection, whilst a large portion of its members is looked upon by Government with a jealous and repulsive eye.

"This is my opinion, and I have no hesitation in avowing it; but in this avowal, I would not be understood to claim any infallibility of judgment, or to impute to those who think differently, either *zeal without knowledge, political shortsightedness, or secularity of principle.*

"I have, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

"Carlton House, May 4th, 1812.

"My Lord,

"IT affords me the greatest satisfaction, to have it in command from the Prince Regent, to make known to Your Lordship a circumstance, which he is sure will, on every account, afford Your Lordship equal

gratification to that which he has himself experienced from it. After dinner yesterday at Carlton House, the conversation turned upon the general immorality and profligacy of the present day, when principles and opinions subversive of all religion and morality, were not only held by many, but studiously endeavoured to be instilled into the minds of others. One of the most violent of these, a Sussex Baronet, was mentioned by a Mr. Tyrwhitt, (who I believe is not unknown to your Lordship,) as having uttered opinions in his hearing so infamous and atheistical, as to force him to leave the company, first, however, exacting from him a promise, that he would attentively peruse a book he should the next morning send him. That book was Your Lordship's Apology for the Bible; and yesterday the Baronet's answer was produced and read, expressive of the greatest thankfulness for having had it put into his hands, as it not only had decidedly and clearly proved the error and fallacy of every opinion he had before entertained, but had afforded him a degree of secret comfort and tranquillity, that his mind had

previously been a stranger to. I have the honour to be, My Lord,

"Your Lordship's very much
"Obliged and obedient servant,
"W. BRADDYLL."

Answer to Mr. Braddyll's Letter, May 8th, 1812.

"My dear Sir,

"THE Prince Regent judges rightly of my character; for the circumstance which he has had the kind condescension to command you to make known to me, does indeed fill my heart with real joy. When the Apology for the Bible was first published, in 1796, I received many letters of thanks, not only from individuals, acknowledging the benefit they had derived from the perusal of it, but from public bodies in Ireland and America. I permitted many thousand copies of it to be printed in Great Britain, without any profit or wish of profit to myself, and yet I cleared above a thousand pounds by its publication; which sum, accruing from such a source, had my family been less, or my means of providing for it greater, I should have had the greatest

satisfaction in consecrating to some work of charity; nay, I was so bent on doing this, that I drew up the subjoined inscription for it:

Rerum Universitatis Conditori Conservatorique
Deo optimo maximo unico
Ob vitam mortalem sub ejus numine feliciter actam
Ob spem vitæ immortalis εν Χριστῳ feliciter agendæ
Hoc quantulumcunque grati animi monumentum
Sacrum esse voluit
RICARDUS LANDAVENSIS

"For the very obliging manner in which you have signified to me this instance of the Prince's remembrance of a retired bishop, I beg you to accept my best thanks, and to esteem me

"Your faithful friend and servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

Extract of a Letter to Mr. Wyvill, October 21st, 1813.

"My dear Sir,

"I HAVE seen your address to the Freeholders of Yorkshire, and perceive that it is written with such a distinct and enlarged view of public policy, and with such moderation of temper towards those who dif-

fer from you in sentiment, that I cannot resist the impulse I feel, of expressing to you the concurrence of my opinion to every part of it.

"The struggle for the liberty of Europe, has been most nobly sustained by Great Britain, and might it not at this period be successfully terminated by our Government granting emancipation to the Catholics, and a repeal of the test and corporation acts to the Dissenters? These concessions would be more powerful means of defence, than all the conscriptions of our enemy can ever be to the contrary.

"Infirmities of various kinds have long obliged me to withdraw myself from the active policy of the country; but with life only can end my attention to the constitution, which you have the highest merit of having for many years so ably and honourably supported.

"R. LANDAFF."

Mr. Wyvill's Answer to the foregoing Letter.

"Burton-Hall, Bedal, Oct. 31, 1813.

"My Lord,

"YESTERDAY I received the honour of

Your Lordship's letter, and I hasten to return my most grateful acknowledgements of your kindness, in avowing with so much generosity your approbation of my late address to the freeholders of Yorkshire. That is a great and unexpected reward; and disappointed as I am by the dejected state of this country, I yet confidently anticipate the best effects from the concurrence of your sentiments with those which the address was calculated to promote.

" Mr. Fox proved the sincerity of his attachment to liberty, civil and religious, by the long service of thirty years, almost wholly spent in parliament, under the frowns of power; Your Lordship I believe has given a similar proof of your attachment to that best of causes. You have endured a similar proscription, from men who acted on the same unworthy motives, and the consequence has been almost the same; you have at Landaff been as long shut out from the road to the higher honours of the Church. But how much higher you have risen, by having obtained the undisputed dignity of virtue, benevolence, patriotism, and the true spirit of

Christianity! Accept, My Lord, the assurance of my respect and regard, with my sincerest wishes that you may long enjoy the evening of life with health, and the general veneration of your country.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your Lordship's faithful servant,

"C. Wyvill."

Mr. Wyvill I hope will pardon my vanity in publishing this letter. I am really proud of his honourable testimony to that political consistency of principle, which unites my name to that of Mr. Fox.

R. Landaff.

From this period the health of the Bishop of Landaff rapidly declined; bodily exertion became extremely irksome to him; and though his mental faculties continued unimpaired, yet he cautiously refrained from every species of literary composition. The example of the Archbishop of Grenada was often before him, and the determination as

frequently expressed, that his own prudence should exempt him from the admonition of a Gil Blas.

He expired on the 4th of July, 1816, in the 79th year of his age; illustrating in death the truth of his favourite rule of conduct through life: "Keep innocency, and take heed unto the thing that is right, for that shall bring a man peace at the last."

THE END.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

TANJORE ... SWATI MAHAL

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